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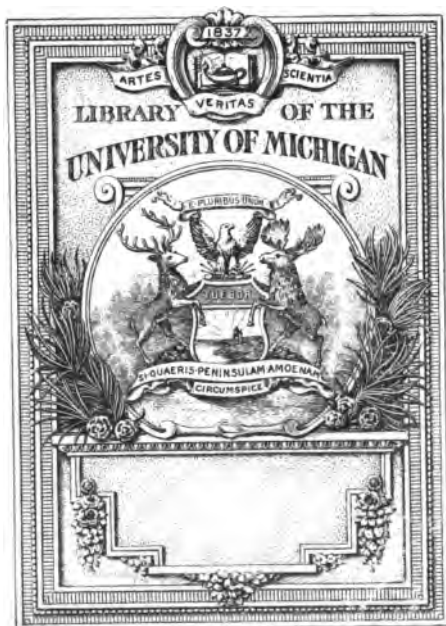
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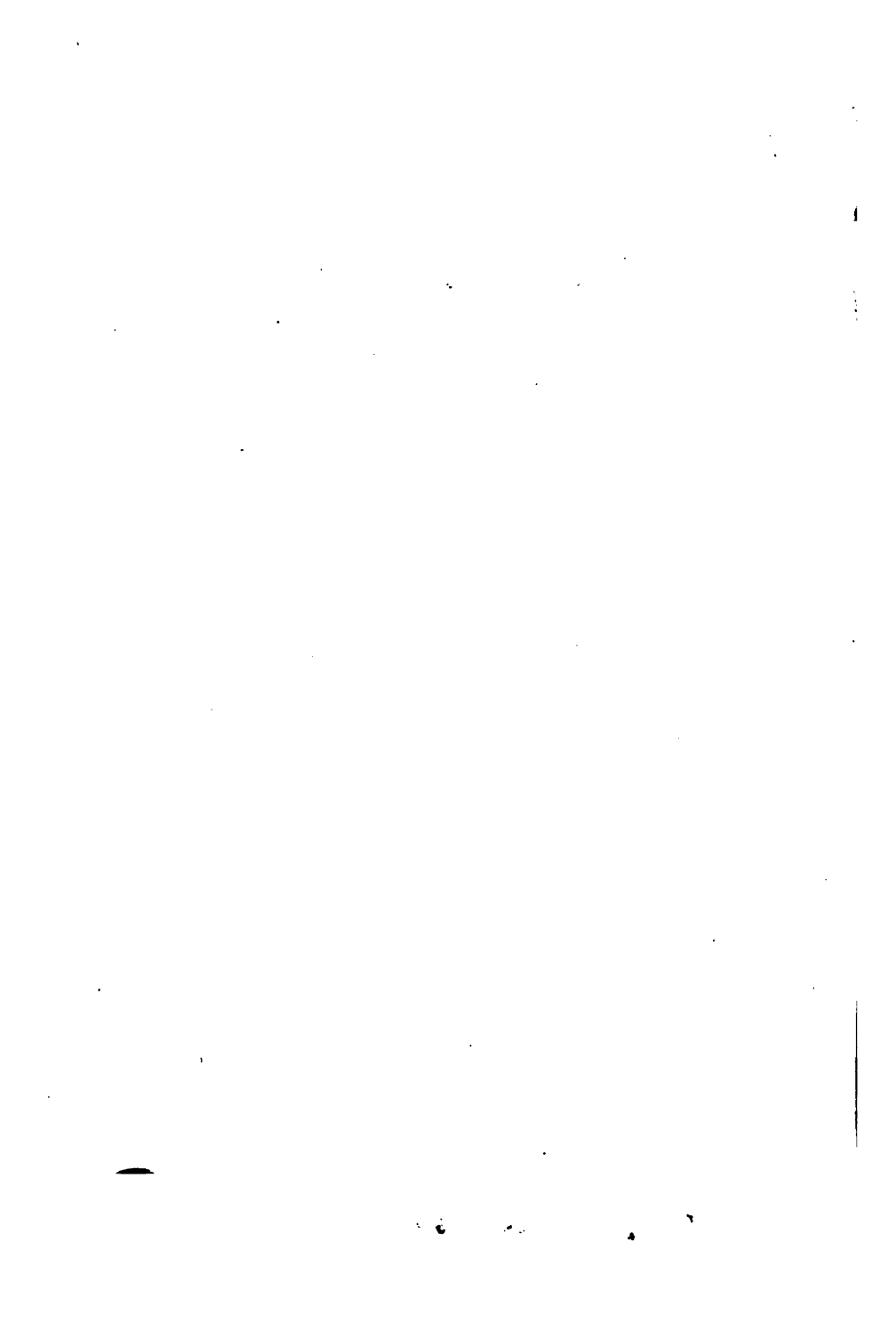
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**THE**  
**ELIZABETHAN PRAYER-BOOK**  
**AND ORNAMENTS**



THE  
Elizabethan Prayer-Book  
& Ornaments

With an Appendix of Documents

BY

HENRY GEE, D.D., F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF 'THE ELIZABETHAN CLERGY AND THE SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION'  
CO-EDITOR OF 'DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY'

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## PREFACE

NOR a few periods of history still await careful investigation in the light of contemporary documents which are constantly being made accessible. Even in the most familiar tracts of the history of our own Church a good deal still remains to be done before a really final verdict can be passed on more than one debated question. The revision of the Prayer-Book under Elizabeth, and the fate of Church Ornaments at the beginning of her reign, are two points in a series of small studies which I proposed to myself some years ago for special research. Another of the series has already seen the light in the shape of *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion*, which I published in 1898. In the search under-

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taken in preparation for that volume, a large amount of material presented itself which appeared to throw some light upon the fortunes of the Prayer-Book, so that little remained for me to do beyond putting my notes in order, and drawing from them the conclusions that they seemed to warrant.

The concluding volumes of Canon Dixon's *History* were placed in my hands last year, in order that I might prepare them for publication. I was interested in finding that he took the old view of the story of revision, and this fact quickened my desire to satisfy myself concerning a point on which I held widely differing views. I therefore embraced the opportunity presented when Dr. Ince asked me to take part in the lectures to clergy held in Oxford in July 1901. The substance of this little volume was then delivered in the shape of three lectures. I have in the interval revised my opinions, and have partly recast what I had written, adding many points in the text and in the



notes. I have also collected the chief documents upon which I rely for the opinions formed, and have put them together in an Appendix. Some of these papers have not been hitherto accessible; others have been forgotten; and all of them seemed necessary for checking my conclusions.

A brief summary of the book will prepare the reader for the line of argument that I have followed. At the outset the old story of the revision, which has maintained its place since the days of Strype, has been abandoned. Its details, at all events, are not to be pressed as history. The account of what took place in connexion with the Prayer-Book is next reconstructed, so far as it is possible to penetrate the obscurity by means of mentions, hints, and allusions. We do not find that there was any intention to bring back the book of 1549. The book of 1552 alone appears on the scene, in the early months of the year 1559, with three alterations and three only. The authorities were

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completely foiled in their attempt to get this book through Parliament in March 1559. It was therefore introduced again in April of that year, and was passed by the bare majority of three votes. Meanwhile a reaction set in which succeeded in annexing to the Uniformity Act the famous proviso concerning Ornaments, but without changing the as yet unaltered Ornaments Rubric. This rubric was next brought into line with the Proviso in May or June by the action of the Privy Council, as it would seem, and in this way began the contradictory conditions which surround the Ornaments Rubric of 1559. But the Injunctions, which were made public after the Prayer-Book came into use, introduced a "further order," and this practically superseded the Ornaments Rubric. Vestments and ornaments generally were destroyed in large measure by the visitors of 1559, and by subsequent commissions. A compromise in favour of the cope was effected in 1560, but when

the tide of Puritanism began to rise, this compromise became a dead letter. At last, in the Advertisements of 1566, Archbishop Parker strove to enforce the surplice in all parish churches, whilst the use of the cope was henceforth confined to cathedral and collegiate churches. Thus the famous document was a concession to the prevailing feeling of the time. By that year most of the vestments, other than the cope, seem to have been destroyed, whilst crosses, roods, altars, chalices, and many other articles of church furniture, shared the fate of the vestments.

Such is a bare outline of the history of the Prayer-Book and Church Ornaments during the early years of the reign of Elizabeth. I carry the investigation no farther. I do not in the text, for instance, consider the subsequent history of the Ornaments Rubric. That question lies entirely apart from the special investigation pursued in the following pages, and must be left to

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those who have made more detailed study of the circumstances than I can claim.

It is only right to add that I have practically confined myself to original documents in forming the conclusions which I have reached. It might otherwise savour of disrespect or self-confidence that no mention is made of the many books which have been written in recent years with more or less reference to matters discussed in this volume. It was clearly impossible to deal effectively with so large a mass of literature, and I determined, therefore, to keep, with slight exception, to authorities more or less original and contemporary. I can scarcely hope that my conclusions will commend themselves to all readers, but the materials for confirmation or correction are, at all events, presented for their judgment.

HENRY GEE.

RIPON,  
*Christmas 1901.*

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## CHAPTER I

### THE CURRENT STORY OF THE REVISION

THE history of the Prayer-Book has received much additional light in recent years. There are still, however, one or two periods in that history which are somewhat obscure. In the preface to his valuable new edition of Canon Procter's standard work, Mr. Frere says: "In the case of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book the facts are still so scantily known . . . that there has been little development of knowledge; while the relation of the controversies of the eighteenth century to the Prayer-Book has not yet been properly investigated at all."<sup>1</sup> It is no less true that, despite the

Obscurity as  
to the Revision  
of 1559.

<sup>1</sup> *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, Procter and Frere, 1901, p. vii.

## 2     *Elizabethan Prayer-Book*

research of recent students, such as Messrs. Gasquet and Bishop, there is considerable uncertainty as to the precise stages in the revision of the Prayer-Book published in 1552. In view of such dark passages it is my intention in these pages to try and discover the real story of the so-called revision of the Prayer-Book at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to trace the origin and working of the Ornaments Rubric during the years which immediately followed the publication of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book. If I cannot clear up all the difficulties, I think that I can place some new information before my readers, and piece together a more or less probable account of what took place in Queen Elizabeth's first year, so far as the Prayer-Book is concerned, and also of the way in which ornament and ceremony were regulated. We shall find, I believe, a certain light reflected by these investigations on a single episode in the history of Edward's second book.

## *Current Story of the Revision* 3

It might at first sight appear unnecessary to discuss the steps by which the Prayer-Book of Elizabeth was published. Most text-books are fairly explicit on this point. They tell us in effect that a committee of revision was appointed soon after the Queen's accession, and that the book was duly revised and came into use on Midsummer Day 1559. Mr. Frere gives a rather more cautious account. He tells us<sup>1</sup> that within a month of the Queen's accession "a paper of questions was prepared suggesting the mode in which the alteration of religion could be most safely brought about. The 'manner of doing of it' is advised to be determined by a consultation of 'such learned men as be meet to show their minds herein; and to bring a plat or book thereof, ready drawn, to Her Highness: which being approved of Her Majesty may be so put into the Parliament House: to the which for the time it is thought that these are apt men, Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May,

Modern writers, however, give a fairly consistent account of it.

<sup>1</sup> *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 95.

#### 4 *Elizabethan Prayer-Book*

Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Pilkington ; and Sir Thomas Smith do call them together and to be amongst them." In other words, the document quoted tells us in effect that it was proposed to submit the question of a liturgy to a committee of learned men, and that is the usual construction placed on the words. But Mr. Frere does not assume, as it has been generally assumed, that this committee met and revised the Prayer-Book. He goes on to say<sup>1</sup>: "There is no sign of a formal commission, nor even that the divines nominated met as was proposed at Sir Thomas Smith's house. It is only possible," he continues, "to deduce what must have happened from a letter of Guest sent to Cecil when the draft of proposals was completed in order to justify 'the order taken in the new service.' Clearly some body of divines had met and drawn up a draft Service-book, and Guest was among them in a conspicuous position ; for he speaks

<sup>1</sup> *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 98.

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## *Current Story of the Revision* 5

as though the revision had been especially his work." Mr. Frere concludes somewhat hypothetically "that by way of compromise the second book was adopted as the basis of the revision instead of the first, but only slight alterations allowed, and those in the opposite direction to that desired by the committee of divines, and that in this ill-defined shape the proposal for the new book was then laid before Parliament." With the account which Mr. Frere then gives of the troubled passage of the Uniformity Bill through both Houses of Parliament we need not trouble ourselves now; it is sufficient to notice the general narrative as I have summarised it from his pages.

Now it will be observed that the story so given rests upon two documents. First, there is the State Paper which Mr. Frere calls a paper of questions. It is usual to refer to it as the "Device for the Alteration of Religion," and we may conveniently so designate it. This paper sketches the pro-

This account is based on two documents :

1. The "Device."

## 6 *Elizabethan Prayer-Book*

2. Guest's  
letter.

posal for the alteration of religion in general, and of the Prayer-Book in particular. Then there is a private letter written by Bishop Guest, which is supposed to give all the further details that have survived in connexion with the actual process of revision. Beyond the facts supplied by these two documents, the whole account given by historians of that process is purely hypothetical.<sup>1</sup> Before we search for fuller contemporary information it may be interesting to trace back the use of these two documents, and then to see if they will bear the construction placed upon them by the various historians who have based their account of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book upon them. At all events the review will bring before us one by one the names of several writers whose labours are often forgotten in the plethora of those modern text-books to

<sup>1</sup> Particularly the circumstantial account usually given of the Queen's wishes and sympathies in the matter of revision. Cf. p. 50.

## *Current Story of the Revision* 7

which we too often turn for the story of our Church.

The letter of Bishop Guest was first utilised by John Strype, Vicar of Leyton, in Queen Anne's reign. The first volume of his *Annals of the Reformation* was published in the year 1709, and the work forms our chief treasure-house for the continuous history of the Church of England under Queen Elizabeth. Strype was an indefatigable record-searcher. He had access to what was then called the State Paper Office, and also to the Cottonian Library, which was destined half a century later to form the nucleus of the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> He was also allowed to make copious use of the Petyt Manuscripts belonging to the Society of the Inner Temple, and also of the splendid collection bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to his own college of Corpus Christi in Cam-

Strype first  
used Guest's  
letter.

<sup>1</sup> For the Records Office see F. S. Thomas' *Handbook to the Public Records*. For the Museum the most convenient account is in the ordinary green guide on sale at the Museum. More fully in Edward Edwards' *Memoirs of Libraries*.

## 8 *Elizabethan Prayer-Book*

bridge. It was in a volume of Parker's manuscripts that Strype found this letter of Guest, which had hitherto escaped notice. On it Strype bases the following account of what took place:—" [Sir William Cecil] appointed Guest, a very learned man, afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury and Bishop of Rochester, to be joined with the rest of the revisers of the book, and, as I [Strype] conjecture, substituted him in the room of Dr. Parker being absent some part of the time, by reason of sickness. Him the Secretary required diligently to compare both King Edward's communion books together, and from them both to frame a book for the Church of England, by correcting and amending, altering, adding or taking away according to his judgment and the ancient liturgies; which when he had done, and a new Service-book being finished by him and the others appointed thereunto, the said Guest conveyed it unto the Secretary, together with a letter to him



## *Current Story of the Revision* 9

containing his reasons for his own emendations and alterations.”<sup>1</sup> Strype then proceeds to make out from Guest’s narrative a series of questions which he gathers to have been submitted by Cecil to Guest, and answered by Guest. Such was the new light which Strype considered that this recovered letter threw upon the history of the revision. It made Guest the most important reviser, and constituted him the champion of that revision.

Strype’s view was accepted without hesitation, and ever since his time this letter of Guest has been considered to be an important side-light on the history of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book. So confidently has this view been taken that a descendant of Bishop Guest wrote a *Life* of his ancestor some sixty years ago, in which he described Guest as “the principal compiler of the liturgy of the Church of England established at the time of the Reformation, and now in

Its unquestioned acceptance.

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals*, i. 83. Cf. H. G. Dugdale’s *Life of Bishop Geste*, p. 37.

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use amongst us as the only English Church service legally established in the kingdom." Mr. Dugdale, the author of this *Life of Guest*, called upon "the literary world at large, but more especially those seats of learning of which he [Guest] was a member, as well as those ecclesiastical establishments over which for so many years, to the honour and glory of God, to the fruitful edification of His Church, and to his own excellent and meritorious commendation, he presided, [that] they will search with diligence and avidity the arcana of their respective depositaries; examine their munimental manuscripts; and should their labours be attended with success, communicate their contents to the world."<sup>1</sup> Well, it is in the spirit of this appeal that the present examination is made of the documentary authority on which the story of the Elizabethan revision rests. It may perhaps result in dethroning Guest from a position which I do not think that he ever claimed for himself.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, p. vi.

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So much for the first appearance of Guest's letter as a contribution to the history of Elizabeth's Prayer-Book ; and so much for the theory based upon it by Strype. We discard it for the time being and proceed with our inquiry. The next historian before Strype is Burnet, who published the first volume of his *History of the Reformation* in 1679. He threw new light upon the early days of Elizabeth by utilising for the first time some of the documents in the archives of Zurich, which were published in full by the Parker Society sixty years ago, and form a most useful addition to our knowledge of the times. But Burnet passes over the matter of the revision entirely, and merely calls attention to the result.<sup>1</sup> Heylyn, the chaplain of Archbishop Laud, produced his *Ecclesia Restaurata* in 1661, the year of the last revision of our Prayer-Book. He gives the story of the commission with which the "Device" has made us familiar, and has

View of the  
historians  
before Strype :

1. Burnet.

2. Heylyn.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, p. 111.

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3. Fuller.

nothing further to add upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Fuller wrote his *Church History of Britain*, as did Heylyn, during the troublous times of the Protectorate, to which period we owe other learned works which might never have seen the light had not their authors been diverted from the ordinary course of their life during the sorrows which then came upon the Church of England. Fuller brought out his quaint and interesting book in 1656, but he simply notices that "uniformity of prayer and administration of sacraments were enacted."<sup>2</sup> He has no word to offer about the revision. Next in order of time is a manuscript history of the Prayer-Book inserted in a copy of the year 1638, and preserved at Lambeth.<sup>3</sup> It is very probably the work of Laud or was drawn up for him. It is called "A brief survey of the times and manner of Reformation in Religion of the Churches of England and Scotland,

4. Laud.

<sup>1</sup> Heylyn, ii. 272, 273, ed. 1849.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 440, ed. 1842.

<sup>3</sup> Lambeth MS., 731.

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and of the Liturgy, Rites, Ceremonies, and discipline therein used or controverted, and how far the present agrees with the former." It asserts that "the care of correcting the liturgy which by King Edward the VI. was set forth in the vulgar tongue was committed to Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, and Pilkington, learned divines, and to Sir Thomas Smith." This account again suggests the "Device," though the order of the names slightly differs. At last we reach Camden, who was the chief antiquary in 5. Camden. England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He is the fountain source of Elizabethan history, from which all subsequent historians drew without question or reserve, until Strype tapped fresh manuscript authorities. Camden published the first volume of his *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha* in the year 1615. For this and his other works he made the most elaborate preparations. He bequeathed his books and papers to Arch-

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bishop Bancroft. When Bancroft died they were transferred to Lambeth by Abbot. The collection was probably pillaged during the troubles of Laud and dispersed. A good deal, however, of the manuscript portion of Camden's remains was recovered by Sir Robert Cotton and placed in his famous collection, where Strype consulted the documents. From the Cotton Collection they passed into the custody of the British Museum, where they still survive.<sup>1</sup> They have not, I believe, been accurately identified in every case, but some of them are connected with Camden, either as being in his handwriting or else as appearing in the text of his *Annals* or *Britannia*.

Camden first  
used the  
"Device."

It is in Camden's *Annals of Elizabeth*, then, that we find use made for the first time of the "Device for the Alteration of Religion." He tells us the following story: "[Elizabeth] commanded the consultation to be hastened

<sup>1</sup> See the article on Camden in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

## *Current Story of the Revision* 15

amongst her most inward counsellors, how the Protestant Religion might be re-established and the Popish abolished, all perils being weighed which might grow thereby, and by what means they might be put by." Then, after giving a summary of the "Device," he says: "The care of correcting the liturgy which under King Edward the Sixth was set forth in the vulgar tongue was committed to Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, and Pilkington, learned and moderate divines, and to Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, a most learned gentleman, the matter being imparted to no man but the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo, and Cecil."<sup>1</sup> The account is almost word for word the same as that in the Lambeth Manuscript, and

<sup>1</sup> The translation of Camden in the text is that of the English version of 1675. The original Latin is as follows:—"Cura Liturgiam emendandi, quae sub Edwardo VI lingua patria edita, Parkero, Billo, Maio, Coxo, Grindallo, Whitheado, et Pilkingtono, Theologis eruditiss et moderatis, Thomaeque Smitho equiti doctissimo demandatur, re nemini communicata nisi Marchioni Northamptoniae, Comiti Bedfordiae, Joanni Greio de Pyrgo, et Cecilio" (ed. Hearne, 1717, p. 32).

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exhibits the same order of the names. It is quite clear, therefore, that the Lambeth Manuscript is quoting from Camden, unless both alike come from some independent account.

Examination  
of the  
"Device":

And now that we have traced the use of the "Device" through those writers who evidently depend upon Camden up to Camden himself, we are in a position to examine the document itself somewhat in detail.<sup>1</sup> What is the history and character of the "Device"? This is a necessary investigation if we are to estimate its value aright. Camden gives no clue to his authority. Bishop Burnet first printed the document from a copy which was at that time in the possession of Lord Grey of Ruthyn, and is now among the Yelverton MSS., which belong to the present Lord Calthorpe.<sup>2</sup>

1. Its MS.  
history.

(a) Yelverton  
MS.  
39, f. 141.

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the "Device" see p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> These manuscripts are at 38 Grosvenor Square, London, and were described in the second report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. They contain valuable materials for the history of Elizabeth's reign. Mr. Bickley of the British Museum has examined the document in question on my behalf, and his report is summarised in the text above.



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The handwriting cannot be certainly identified, but it manifestly belongs to the reign of Elizabeth, and the page is headed, "Out of a book of Sir Thomas Smith."

It is, therefore, highly probable that the Yelverton MS. came originally from the papers of Sir T. Smith; and Strype, who seems to have looked at the document, suggests Sir Thomas Smith as the writer on the ground of the endorsement referred to. This was a hasty conclusion, as the hand is certainly not that of Sir Thomas. We cannot safely assert that the manuscript in the Yelverton Collection is more than a sixteenth-century copy of the "Device" by some unknown scribe, and perhaps not a particularly good copy.

Strype in his turn found another transcript of the "Device," which he affirmed to be "more correct," and which he printed in the Appendix to the *Annals*.<sup>1</sup> He refers

(b) Cotton MS.  
Julius F. vi.  
f. 167.

<sup>1</sup> Strype says: "This excellent paper [the "Device"] is summed up by Camden in his History of Queen Elizabeth, but first saw the light by the means of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Sarum,

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us to a certain Cotton Manuscript, which is now readily accessible in the British Museum. It is to be found in a volume labelled "Papers relating to Scotland Temp. Elizabeth." This is a misleading summary of the contents of the book, which, as a matter of fact, is seen to be a miscellaneous collection of materials gathered together by Camden when he was preparing to write his *Britannia* and his *Annals*. This is clear enough as we look through the series; and if it were worth while it would no doubt be possible to refer much of the collection to the actual printed pages of Camden's works wherein they have been incorporated by him. The connexion of the volume with Camden is made certain by his own handwriting, which occurs here and there.

who hath printed it in his *History of the Reformation* from the MSS. of the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, now Lord Viscount Longueville. But there being another MS. of it in the Cotton Library, somewhat different from that used by him, and explanatory of it in some places, and more correct, I am therefore tempted to put it into the repository [*i.e.* his appendix of documents] from that MS." Pocock has collated the two copies of the "Device" in his edition of Burnet, vol. v. 497.

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The actual pages in the manuscript with which we are concerned are numbered 167, 168, 169. They are headed, "A Copy of the Device for the Alteration of Religion."

The writing is probably that of a transcriber employed by Camden, and dates without doubt to some time in the reign of Elizabeth. On the back of the last page of the "Device" is an entry referring to an event of Elizabeth's first year, and part of the writing in this entry is almost certainly in Cecil's handwriting. We need not cavil, therefore, as to the date of the document. It is Elizabethan even if it was not written at the very beginning of the reign. But why was this "Device" drawn up? The idea was suggested probably by a somewhat similar paper preserved among the Inner Temple Manuscripts, which deals with the proposed alteration of religion when Mary became Queen.<sup>1</sup> State Papers embodying a proposed policy were more or

2. Origin of the "Device."

<sup>1</sup> Inner Temple MSS. 538, f. 286.

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less usual in the sixteenth century, and a good many drafts exist of business to be discussed by the Privy Council or other authority. Some of these papers are more elaborate than mere drafts, and set forth in detail the different aspects of a policy as they occurred to different statesmen.

It is one of a series :

No less than three State Papers survive, of which the "Device" is one, which appear to have been drawn up in the early weeks of the reign of Elizabeth in prospect of the meeting of Parliament. They are extremely interesting in that they show the very great care with which the prominent statesmen of the time made preparation for the momentous work which lay before that first Parliament. The first, which is printed by Canon Dixon in his *Church History*, is endorsed, "Divers Points of Religion contrary to the Church of Rome."<sup>1</sup> It is the work of Gooderick,

(1) Gooderick's "Points."

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, v. 26. See his remarks, pp. 25-29. I transcribed this document in part some time ago, and corrected

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an eminent lawyer, and, as its contents show, it was a kind of "counsel's opinion" on the legality of making change in the religious *status quo* when Elizabeth came to the throne. This Gooderick formed one of a committee "for the consideration of all things necessary for the Parliament"<sup>1</sup>; and in consequence the paper is of much importance, as it shows that a constitutional basis was sought for the alterations that were to be made. I shall have occasion to refer again to Gooderick's "Divers Points," and to indicate certain respects in which it was followed.

The second document is entitled "The Distresses of the Commonwealth," with the means to remedy them.<sup>2</sup> It is a somewhat rhetorical composition, and gives a very

(2) "Distresses of the Commonwealth."

Dr. Dixon's copy of it which was made for his *Church History*, so that I may perhaps be allowed to insert the text of it from the State Papers. See Appendix, p. 202. Dr. Dixon did not apparently notice the way in which Gooderick's advice was taken in regard to the Church Service.

<sup>1</sup> Privy Council Acts, 23rd December 1558, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See the document in full below, Appendix, p. 206.

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gloomy picture of the position of affairs at the Queen's accession. The chief causes enumerated are—"The poverty of the Queen; the penury of noblemen and their poverty; the wealth of the meaner sort; the dearth of things; the divisions within the realm; the wars; want of justice." The writer proceeds to enlarge upon these causes and their remedy. One only need detain us, as it throws into relief the difficulties that attended the alteration of Church Services. It is stated in regard to "the cause of religion" that "this case is to be warily handled, for it requireth great cunning and circumspection both to reform religion and to make unity between the subjects being at square for the respect thereof; and as I pray God to grant us concord both in the agreement upon the cause and state of religion, and among ourselves for the account of Catholic and Protestant, so do I wish that you would proceed to the reformation, having respect

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to quiet at home, the affairs you have in hand with foreign princes, the greatness of the Pope, and how dangerous it is to make alteration in religion, specially in the beginning of a prince's reign. Glasses with small necks if you do pour into them any liquor suddenly or violently, will not be so filled, but refuse to receive that same that you would pour into them. Howbeit, if you distil water into them by little and little, they are soon replenished." The "Distresses of the Commonwealth" is endorsed with the name of Armigail Waad, who had been a Privy Councillor under Edward VI., and might appear from the introduction to this paper to have drawn it up at the request of some one in authority, and very probably that some one is Cecil himself.

The "Device" is the third of the trio. <sup>(3) The</sup> "Device" <sup>itself.</sup> It appears to be an answer to a set of questions propounded to the writer. The questions are these:— "i. When the alteration shall be first attempted? ii. What

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dangers may ensue upon the alteration?  
iii. What remedy for these matters? iv.  
What shall be the manner of the doing of  
it? v. What may be done of Her High-  
ness for her own conscience openly before  
the whole alteration, or if the alteration  
must tarry longer, what order be fit to be  
in the whole realm as an interim? vi.  
What noblemen be most fit to be made  
privy to these proceedings, before it be  
opened to the whole Council? vii. What  
allowances those learned men shall have for  
the time they are about to review the Book  
of Common Prayer, and order of ceremonies,  
and service in the Church, and where they  
shall meet?"<sup>1</sup>

3. Contents of  
the "Device."

As we are not now concerned with the  
alteration of religion as a whole, but only  
with the revision of the Prayer-Book, we  
will confine ourselves to what is said of the  
Prayer-Book. Under the second head of  
"Dangers that may ensue," the writer draws

<sup>1</sup> See the text in Appendix below, p. 195.



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attention to the likelihood of discontent with the ceremonial and doctrine : " Many such as would gladly have the alteration from the Church of Rome, when they shall see per-adventure that some old ceremonies shall be left in still, or that their doctrine which they embrace is not allowed and commanded only, and all other abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and call the alteration a cloaked papistry, or a mingle-mangle." From these words it is quite clear that the violence of Puritan discontent was foreseen from the very first, and was regarded as a special difficulty.<sup>1</sup> The remedy proposed is noteworthy : " For the discontentation of such as could be content to have religion altered, but would have it go too far, the strait laws upon the promulgation of the book, and severe execution of the same at the first, will so repress them that it is great hope it shall touch but a few. And better it were that they did suffer than Her Highness

<sup>1</sup> See p. 197.

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or commonwealth should shake, or be in danger. And to this they must well take heed that draw the book."

Under the heading of the manner of the doing of it are given the suggestions which we have anticipated—the consultation of certain learned men; their "plat" or plan (as the word means<sup>1</sup>) of proposed changes to be submitted to the Queen and introduced into Parliament; their meeting at the house of Sir Thomas Smith. Besides these proposals the writer suggests that no innovation be allowed until the book comes forth, with the exception of certain concessions in regard to the celebration of Holy Communion in the Queen's Chapel. Finally, one or two other suggestions are made as to further referees, and as to the place of conference,

<sup>1</sup> "Plat" is quite a usual word for scheme, or plan, or list. Thus in the *Foreign Calendar* (1559, p. 284) mention is made of a "plat of the town of Berwick." Note also the use of the word at the beginning of the "Distresses of the Commonwealth," below, p. 207. So too in the *Troubles of Frankfort*, xxviii., it is said of Knox and Whittingham that they "drew forth a plat of the whole book of England into the Latin tongue, sending the same to Master Calvin of Geneva, and requesting his judgment therein."

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which is to be Sir Thomas Smith's house, and the necessary provision for those who take part in the deliberations.

The question now arises as to how far the "Device" is to be used in evidence for what actually took place so far as the revision is concerned. May we assume that the consultation took place? There is much to recommend this view.<sup>1</sup> All the divines who are mentioned in the paper were in favour at the beginning of the reign. Thus Bill was the preacher of the sermon at Paul's Cross on the Sunday after the accession; Parker was specially summoned to London in December<sup>2</sup>; and if we are unable to trace May at that time, yet Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, and Pilkington were appointed to preach before the Queen or at Paul's Cross in the early part of 1559. Cox, too, knew more of the history of the Prayer-Book

4. Authority  
of the  
"Device."

(a) Arguments  
in its favour.

<sup>1</sup> See more of this, with fuller details as to the members of the committee, below, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Parker's *Correspondence*, 9th December, p. 49. See also p. 52.

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than any living man. He was one of the compilers of Edward's first book in 1549, and more than probably he was engaged on the revision of 1552. Sir Thomas Smith might well have been the convener of the committee of revision in 1559, as being an old friend of Cecil, and a man of high position.

(b) *Objections.* On the other hand, there is, as Mr. Frere tells us,<sup>1</sup> no proof that this committee met. No letters-patent were issued to them, or at all events no commission comprising these names, or summoned for the purpose of revision, exists on the patent roll.<sup>2</sup> But the most important matter is that the language of the "Device" suggests careful and deliberate revision,<sup>3</sup> whereas it is straining

<sup>1</sup> Procter and Frere, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> This is not in itself conclusive. See my *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 34. The issue of regular commissions for ecclesiastical matters was probably already contemplated, and was legalised by the Supremacy Act (Gee and Hardy, *Church Documents*, p. 447). They would not be likely to issue as yet a public commission for religious purposes in the face of the known hostility of the clergy to religious change. They would wait until the Supremacy Act was passed.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 201, and note the phrase, "for the time they are

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language to call the book of the Uniformity Act of 1559 a revised book. The changes which distinguish it from the book of 1552 are important, it is true, but yet are very few in number. The wording of the Uniformity Act of 1559 is explicit, that all ministers shall "be bounden to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book [that is, the book of 1552], so authorised by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward VI., with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the

about to review the Book of Common Prayer, and order of ceremonies, and service in the church." On the other hand, the words under section iv. (below, p. 200) do not refer, necessarily, to the Prayer-Book; the "plat or book" really refers to the whole alteration of religion, and not only to the Prayer-Book.

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sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

But we may go a little further than this. Contemporary and subsequent writers until Camden are quite unaware of any regular revision at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The Zurich letters speak quite consistently of the restoration of the second book of Edward; and as late as 1567 an English writer, in sending a long account of the English Reformation to the Elector Palatine, describes how that second book was restored.<sup>2</sup> There is no word, either, of revision in any of the Elizabethan chroniclers. They all agree in speaking rather of restoration than revision.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the text see the statute as printed at the beginning of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book, or in Gee and Hardy, p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> "The second form of prayers which Edward left behind him at his death was restored to the Church."—*Zurich Letters*, ii. 161. See too below, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> References to this point in Elizabeth's reign are as follows :—Fox, in 1564, *Acts and Monuments*, viii. 694 : "The order and proceedings of King Edward's time concerning religion were revived again." Wriothesley, who is, however, not well informed on Church matters, says : "The 14th of May being Whitsunday, the service began in English in divers parishes in London after the last

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In the face of such consistent contemporary evidence, then, we are justified in concluding that the "Device" can only be treated as a "Device." There is no adequate proof that the committee ever undertook a revision of the Prayer-Book. It will be made probable that the committee met and discussed the situation and proposed certain alterations, but all this fell short of revision.

But what of Guest's letter, which is assumed to give certain details of the supposed revision? Turning to it, we find that it is more a short treatise than a letter,<sup>1</sup> and was written by Guest to Cecil or some member of the Privy Council in defence of

Conclusion.

Examination  
of Guest's  
letter.

Book of Common Prayer used in the time of King Edward the VI." (Camden's Society's edition, p. 142. See below for his assertion, p. 123). Holinshed, about 1580, makes no mention of the Prayer-Book. He is inclined to put together in regard to Church history events which happened at intervals, *e.g.* his account of the election of bishops in 1559. Stow about 1580 mentions that Parliament "established the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments in our vulgar tongue was restored to be done as in the time of King Edward the VI." (*Annals of England*, ed. 1615, p. 635).

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the letter see below, p. 215.

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what it calls "the order taken in the new service." As in the case of the "Device" and the "Distresses of the Commonwealth," the writer appears to have had certain points submitted to him for his decision. He proceeds to deal somewhat in detail with ceremonies, the cross, processions, vestments, dividing the service of communion into two parts, the creed, prayer for the dead in the communion, of the prayer in the first book for consecration, of receiving the sacraments in our hands, of receiving standing or kneeling. He concludes: "Thus (as I think), I have showed good cause why the service is set forth in such sort as it is. God for His mercy in Christ cause the Parliament with one voice to enact it, and the realm with true heart to use it."

Its supposed  
evidence for  
revision.

At first sight the letter certainly seems to describe an important stage in the Elizabethan revision. Guest was made Bishop of Rochester in 1560, he is known to have taken an important part in the revision of



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the articles, and it is altogether probable that he was one of the "other men of learning and gravity, and apt for that purpose and credit," whom the "Device" suggested as assessors to the proposed revisers. Moreover, Strype's suggestion that Parker's well-attested illness may have brought Guest to take his place has some air of probability about it.<sup>1</sup> But when we come to examine Guest's letter in detail, so many difficulties present themselves that it is hard to avoid the inference that his letter, whatever its reference may be, has nothing to do with the Elizabethan Revision, and must therefore be dismissed from any connexion with that revision.

First of all, the letter is without date. It comes to light, as Strype shows us, in 1566. In that year Parker was busy over the vestment controversy, and sent to Cecil for a certain writing which he wanted.<sup>2</sup> What this

Objections to  
this view :

1. Absence of  
date.

<sup>1</sup> Parker, *Correspondence*, 59, cf. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Parker MSS. 106, p. 411. Guest's letter now before us is in the same volume, pp. 413-16.

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was we do not know. Cecil made search and found a paper written by Guest "before he was bishop," and sent this paper to Parker. It is the famous letter now before us. Strype, reading it, jumped to the conclusion, from internal evidence, that it refers to the revision of 1559, and Strype's conclusion has been accepted without scruple.

2. Hand-writing.

In the next place, the suspicion that this letter may have nothing to do with events of 1559 is increased by the character of the writing. It is clearly an original document as it stands, and is written in a thick but fairly neat handwriting. Now, we possess an autograph letter written by Guest within the first few years of Elizabeth's reign.<sup>1</sup> It is true that a man's handwriting may vary considerably after the interval of a few years, but I venture to think that something more than five or six years is the interval between these two letters, if they were really both of

<sup>1</sup> Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 250, from Parker MSS. 114, art. 162, p. 465.

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them written by Guest. The later letter, which belongs to 1565 or so, is much less neatly written than the letter which would belong *ex hypothesi* to 1559. The letter of 1565 might well belong to a much later period in Guest's life, when correspondence had multiplied upon him and his handwriting had deteriorated.

Again, I cannot find any contemporary evidence that Guest was credited with Prayer-Book revision in 1559. This is not a particularly strong objection, because it might apply to Parker or Bill or Cox, who almost certainly had a share in preparing the book ; but there is plenty of evidence to connect them with London and the Court in 1559, whereas there is no shred of evidence that Guest was in touch with these men when the religious changes were in hand. In short, Guest is not *en evidence* until the Westminster Disputation at the end of March 1559. He was not mentioned by the "Device"; he was not yet a Court preacher ;

3. Position of  
Guest, 1559.

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he does not appear on the scene until after the Prayer-Book was prepared.

4. Character  
of the points  
reviewed.

But the most serious objection is that it is hard to reconcile the character of the points debated by Guest in his letter with the probable course of any discussion that arose in the year 1559. The series does not fit in well with what we know of doctrinal and ceremonial difficulties of the moment. Some of the matters had been settled in King Edward's reign, *e.g.* the limits of ceremonies and the question of processions; nor is there any proof outside this letter that discussion was being reopened in connexion with them. Some points, indeed, were not at all likely to cause discussion among the divines named, presuming the revisers to have been those mentioned in the "Device." We know the character and antecedents of all the men in the list, and not one of them is likely to have desired to go behind the book of 1552, or to bring back the book of 1549. Was Cox likely so to do who had been the champion

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of the book of 1552 at Frankfort? Was Grindal likely, or Whitehead, or Pilkington, who had all been living at Strasburg or at Frankfort? Is there any proof that Bill or Parker desired to return to Edward's first book? It is certain that two of the noblemen mentioned as referees were in sympathy with the Continental reformers, and were not likely to desire elaborate ceremonial.<sup>1</sup>

In this connexion, too, stress must be laid on the fact that the very point which Guest would be most likely to comment on in the book of 1559 is not mentioned by him. Surely the most remarkable change in that year is the amalgamation of the sentences of administration whereby the two forms of 1549 and 1552 are combined. The bulk of the letter is taken up with the communion office, and it is inconceivable to me, at all events, that Guest, who speaks in the *quorum pars magna fui* strain, should have omitted to notice this significant change. I think

5. An important omission.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 73.

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that this consideration by itself is almost strong enough to prove that the document has no reference at all to the Elizabethan Prayer-Book.

6. Other  
points :  
(1) Kneeling  
at reception.

And once more, one or two things particularly mentioned in Guest's letter are clearly inapplicable to the book of 1559. The writer, it will be observed, is vindicating an order already set forth : this need not mean already printed, perhaps, but cannot mean less than already drafted. Now, Guest makes it clear that the order which he is supporting gives no direction as to the posture of the communicant. "It is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other, to teach men that it is lawful to receive either standing or kneeling." There is no mention in any reference of the year 1559 to any diversity of practice in regard to kneeling at reception.

(2) The  
surplice.

So with regard to the surplice Guest says :  
"It is thought sufficient to use but a surplice

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in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating of the communion." The words raise considerable difficulties, as we shall see later, in regard to the Uniformity Act of 1559, and its provision concerning vestments. We have no single hint of any controversy on this point before the Prayer-Book was promulgated.

No doubt these objections to the accepted reference of Guest's letter are not absolutely overwhelming when taken singly, but in the aggregate their force is considerable. In view of the whole series I venture to submit that the letter does not refer to the revision of 1559, or to any stage in that revision.<sup>1</sup> Conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> A special reason appears to have influenced the unquestioned acceptance of Guest's letter as a contribution to the history of Elizabeth's Prayer-Book. It has been the chief support, or at all events a considerable support, for a certain theory about the use of vestments. The Ornaments Rubric and the Uniformity Act of 1559 appear, on any reasonable construction, to enjoin the ornaments and vestments prescribed in the book of 1549, if not those of the year 1548. The Advertisements of 1566 enjoin the surplice only in parish churches, and the cope in cathedrals. In our ritual controversies the opponents of vestments have been concerned to

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What the real circumstances behind the letter may be is another question, to which we may now proceed.

Guest's letter  
may belong to  
1552.

What, then, is the real background of Guest's letter? If it does not belong to the revision of Elizabeth, to what does it belong? One unsolved crux of Prayer-Book history is the exact process of shaping which the Prayer-Book of 1549 underwent before it emerged in the very much altered form of 1552.<sup>1</sup> My contention, after a careful study of the letter itself and of the circumstances surrounding the revisions of 1552 and 1559,

show that the Ornaments Rubric of 1559 was inoperative from the first. The contention may or may not be true: that is not my point just here. No document has been more freely used against the Ornaments Rubric than the passage about the surplice only which I have already quoted: "It is thought sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating of the communion." Guest was considered, on the authority of Strype, to have been a reviser, and these words of his appeared to be a *contemporanea expositio* from the pen of one who had a better title to speak than most people, because he was concerned with the formation of the Elizabethan Book. If my contention is right, the letter of Bishop Guest can no longer be used in this connexion, for he was, according to my view, no reviser, nor does his letter refer to the Elizabethan Prayer-Book.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 1.



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so far as they have been recorded, is that the document in question represents a stage in the revision of 1552. If this theory be true, we have had lying ready to hand, ever since the days of Strype, an interesting fragment of the lost history of Edward's second book.

But what is the proof? The connecting link is found in the last section of the letter, which deals with "receiving standing or kneeling." It has been shown that those who prepared the Prayer-Book in 1559 were not likely to raise any discussion on this question. Not one of them is known to have been in favour of standing reception. But the kneeling controversy is a very prominent matter in the year 1552. What has been known of the point hitherto is as follows:—The book passed through Parliament in April 1552, and printing was at once commenced. This book prescribed kneeling at the reception. This was a new feature, for the book of 1549 had given no direction

There was then a difficulty about kneeling.

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at all upon the subject. Before the book came into use on All Saints' Day, an attempt was made to alter the rubric. Fortunately we can trace the steps. For a year past prominent churchmen and preachers had denounced kneeling.<sup>1</sup> In their irritation at the new rubric they brought pressure to bear on the Council in the summer of 1552, with a view to rescinding the rubric at the eleventh hour. Accordingly, says Canon Dixon: "Grafton, the printer, was finishing the first impression; the sale, it is likely, had commenced, when he received, September 26, an Order of Council to stay the publication, and if he had distributed any copies to his fellow-publishers, to forbid them to let them go forth until certain faults in them should have been amended. At the same time the Council wrote to Cranmer requesting him to oversee and correct the book as printed already, and furthermore to consult with Ridley and Peter Martyr

<sup>1</sup> Dixon, *Church History*, iii. 475.

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whether it might not be better to leave out the rubric about kneeling.”<sup>1</sup>

Cranmer wrote in answer his celebrated letter, in which he asked with dignified sarcasm: “Is it wisdom to alter without Parliament what has been concluded by Parliament at the bidding of glorious and unquiet spirits who would still find faults if the book were altered every year?”<sup>2</sup> Deliberations followed, and constant messengers were sent to and fro between the Council and Cranmer. “The result of all these deliberations was to retain the direction to kneel, but to append to the communion service an explanation that might conciliate the dreaded Nonconformists. The celebrated declaration about kneeling, called sometimes the Black Rubric, was composed, in which it was explained that though the gesture of kneeling was retained, there was nothing of superstition involved in it.”<sup>3</sup>

Cranmer  
resisted change  
in the rubric.

<sup>1</sup> Dixon, *Church History*, iii. 476.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter in Appendix below, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Dixon, iii. 477.

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Cranmer's  
letter links  
Guest's letter  
to 1552.

Thus the rubric introduced in 1552 was preserved, along with the explanation added in the so-called Black Rubric. Now Cranmer's letter, in which he refused to listen to any suggestion of change, reveals incidentally the point at which (so it seems to me) the letter of Guest comes in, and supplies a hitherto forgotten episode in the formation of the book of 1552. Cranmer tells the Council that the ordinance about kneeling (introduced for the first time in 1552, let it be repeated) had been well weighed at the making of the book by "a great many bishops and the best learned men within the realm." This weighing and deliberating takes us back to some date before the passing of the Uniformity Act of April 1552, to that obscure period when, as Canon Dixon says, "In passing to the light the volume met with strange adventures. It was discussed by the Privy Council; it was mixed in some degree with the literary history of the Forty-Two Articles of Religion, which were being

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framed at the time ; the contest between the Conformists and the Nonconformists centred upon it while it was still in embryo."<sup>1</sup> In short, I believe that Guest's letter is a defence of Edward's second book, not in its final shape, but in what may be called its penultimate form before the rubric about kneeling was added.

An examination of the letter shows that this view is not untenable.<sup>2</sup> It appears from it that Guest has already had some correspondence<sup>3</sup> with a member of the Privy Council (who is presumably Cecil<sup>4</sup>) on the changes which are introduced "in the new

The difficulties which Cecil propounds.

<sup>1</sup> Dixon, *Church History*, iii. 474.

<sup>2</sup> See the text below, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> So I interpret "my writing." The words seem to refer to some previous communication that has passed between Cecil and his correspondent.

<sup>4</sup> Not necessarily Cecil. I am inclined to suspect that the "right honourable" may have been some member of the House of Lords other than Cecil, and that Guest wrote for the information of this unknown person. There is nothing in Cecil's history to make one believe that he would have found any difficulty in the second Prayer-Book. It is possible that the letter was written to Cecil for the benefit of some one who had difficulties, e.g. Lord Derby, or Windsor, or Stourton, who are known to have opposed the book of 1552.

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service." Cecil, if it be he, would go back and restore some of the ceremonies which have been abolished. In particular, he desires the cross and processions to be retained.<sup>1</sup> He would also like to see the vestments of 1549 retained in the celebration of Holy Communion. Finally, he wishes to understand the reason which underlies certain features in the communion office. These features are the dismissal of the non-communicants after the prayer for the Church militant<sup>2</sup>; the position of the Creed<sup>3</sup>; the omission of all prayer for the dead<sup>4</sup>; the dropping of the invocation of the

<sup>1</sup> He here mentions two points which were not specifically abolished by the book of 1552. For the fate of the cross, see Dixon, iii. 450. Processions were prohibited by the Injunctions of 1547.

<sup>2</sup> The prayer for the Church militant had been in 1549 part of the long consecration prayer, and therefore came rather later in the service than it did when divided off and put in its present position in 1552.

<sup>3</sup> Is it possible that by the Creed here is meant the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which in 1552 was transferred from near the beginning of the office to its present place? Otherwise we see in the words a hint that the Creed at this stage occupied a position which was altered when the book came out in 1552.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the omission of such reference from the consecration prayer.

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Holy Spirit in the consecration prayer<sup>1</sup>; the direction as to reception with the hands<sup>2</sup>; the option allowed in the attitude of reception.

Such, it would appear, are Cecil's difficulties, or the difficulties, it may be, which have been suggested to Cecil by those who prefer the order of 1549. Guest, thereupon, undertakes a defence of the proposed new order, in which he has had some share,<sup>3</sup> and tries to prove that the matters in question are scriptural and primitive, and that his own action has been consistent with his previous assertions. But as we look at the points defended it is obvious that one,<sup>4</sup> at

Guest's vindication of the second book.

<sup>1</sup> The omission of the *ἐπικλησις* from the consecration prayer is intended.

<sup>2</sup> The direction "after to the people in their hands, kneeling," was added in 1552. In 1549 the rubric ran, "And when he delivereth the Sacrament of the Body of Christ he shall say to every one these words." The two rubrics before the delivery of the bread and the cup were changed in 1552.

<sup>3</sup> An important share, as his words indicate: "I have neither ungodly allowed . . . neither put away . . . nor . . . brought in."

<sup>4</sup> One, if the position of the Creed (above, note 3, p. 46) is not another.

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all events, is not to be found in the book of 1552 as we know it. Kneeling is not optional in that book. There is no direction about it in 1549. Canon Dixon says: "The first book of Edward had contained no direction on the subject, because none was then needed; but in the second book, now that the attack had reached that point, a rubric was inserted enjoining the communicant to kneel."<sup>1</sup> Is it unreasonable to infer that the book, as it left the revisers, made the attitude optional, and that somewhat later the direction to kneel was substituted, and, as Cranmer says, after being weighed "by a great many bishops and the best learned men within the realm"?

Evidence of  
Feckenham's  
speech.

There is some slight external evidence in favour of this contention. We shall see later on<sup>2</sup> that Abbot Feckenham, in opposing the book of 1559 from his place in Parliament, undertook a review of the Edwardine Prayer-Books. His object was

<sup>1</sup> Dixon, iii. 475.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 88.



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to show that they were incessantly changing. "Every other year having a new book devised thereof [religion], and every book set being set forth (as they professed) according to the sincere word of God." Then with a blundering and confused recollection he says: "The one book did admit the Real Presence of Christ's Body in the sacrament, to be received in one kind with kneeling down and great reverence, and that in unleavened bread. The other book would have the communion received in both the kinds, and that in leavened bread, sitting, without any reverence, but only to the Body of Christ which is in heaven." Of course the words are inaccurate, and do not fit exactly the order of 1548, or the book of 1549, or that of 1552. Yet they may contain an indistinct testimony to those stages through which the rubric on kneeling passed.

But to come back to Guest, and then to leave him finally. He has no idea that the

Guest's concluding wish.

question of attitude is to be further handled. He vindicates the book as it is at the moment, and concludes: "Thus, as I think, I have showed good cause why the service is set forth in such sort as it is. God, for His mercy in Christ, cause the Parliament with one voice to enact it, and the realm with true heart to use it." My own conjecture is that Guest wrote thus in March 1552, when the Uniformity Bill was passing through the Lords,<sup>1</sup> and that the final change in the rubric about kneeling (not the Black Rubric, of course) was made at the beginning of April, when we are told in the *Lords Journal* that the Bill was sent down to the Commons, "and therewithal a book of the said service drawn out by certain persons appointed by the King's Majesty for that purpose."

X  
Theory as to  
the Queen's  
wishes.

Brief notice must be taken, in conclusion, of a theory based in part on Guest's letter, and frequently stated as a proved fact. It

<sup>1</sup> Dixon, iii. 435.

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has been said, with some confidence, that the Queen desired to have the book of 1549 republished, and that the revision of the book of 1552 was a compromise. So far as I can discover, the foundation of such a statement is a sentence in Collier's *History* referring to Guest's letter. He says: "By the questions put, it is not improbable that the Secretary, and it may be the Queen, were not unwilling the first service-book set forth in the reign of King Edward should be laid before the Parliament; but this motion, if made, was overruled by Guest and the other divines."<sup>1</sup> The supposition, it must be admitted, is perfectly tentative in form. Later events might seem to justify it,<sup>2</sup> and the Ornaments Rubric of 1559 might give the hypothesis a show of probability.<sup>3</sup> Yet there is no proof sug-

<sup>1</sup> Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, vi. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Specially in connexion with the ornaments used in the Queen's chapel later in the year, which might seem to prove that the Queen desired a ceremonial more like that of the first book. See p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 129.

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gested by Collier beyond the statements of Guest, and certainly there is no direct evidence in support from the history of the year 1559. Elizabeth was the consistent friend of those who upheld the book of 1552 during all the months through which it was under discussion. She is said to have openly declared her satisfaction at the return of the exiles in December.<sup>1</sup> She desired the presence of Peter Martyr in England.<sup>2</sup> She was regarded by Cox as the special patroness of what he calls "the sincere religion of Christ."<sup>3</sup> And Jewel, who was most sensitive and suspicious, says of her: "We have a wise and religious Queen, and one too who is favourably and propitiously disposed towards us."<sup>4</sup> It is inconceivable that such uniform satisfaction with the Queen's attitude could have been expressed

<sup>1</sup> The assertion is contained in a letter of Jewel to Peter Martyr, 26th January 1559, who had heard it from some correspondent in England (*Zurich Letters*, i. 6). See p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> References abound in the *Zurich Letters* to Peter Martyr, and they continue until after the publication of the Prayer-Book.

<sup>3</sup> *Zurich Letters*, i. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 33.

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by such writers in the early months of 1559, if she were known to be desirous of introducing the book of 1549.<sup>1</sup> As for Cecil, there is no shred of proof, apart from Guest's letter, that he wished to bring the first book before Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The assertion of the Spanish Ambassador (*Cal.* p. 37), that Elizabeth desired "to restore religion as her father left it," is discounted by somewhat opposing declarations. *Ibid.* pp. 44, 61; and *Venetian Calendar*, p. 81. She was not consistent.

<sup>2</sup> Below, pp. 110 and 120.

## CHAPTER II

### THE STORY RECONSTRUCTED

Our materials  
for reconstruct-  
ing the history  
of Elizabeth's  
Prayer-Book.

WE may now proceed to find out what can be done in the way of reconstructing the history of the so-called revision of 1559 by piecing together such fragments of information as have come to hand since the days of Strype. The dispatches of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors, combined with the evidence of the *Zurich Letters*, which are now accessible in full, set before us sources of information that will aid us considerably in the task. Unfortunately no explicit account of the process of revision has been yet discovered, so that the result can only be fragmentary; still there is enough to place the whole matter in a very much clearer light. I shall try

to broaden out the investigation so as to furnish us with a fairly complete history of the Public Services of the Church of England until the Prayer-Book was put into use.

Queen Elizabeth came to the throne on 17th November 1558. At the moment the restored Latin services were in use throughout the kingdom. No immediate change was made. Indeed, within two days the following proclamation was published: —“We straitly charge and command all manner of our said subjects of every degree to keep themselves in our peace, and not to attempt upon any pretence the breach, alteration, or change of any order of usage presently established within this our realm, upon pain of our indignation and the peril and punishments which thereto in any way may belong.”<sup>1</sup> Care was taken at the

There was no immediate change in the services.

<sup>1</sup> The text is in S. P. Dom. Eliz. i. No. 1. The date is discovered *ibid.* No. 2, compared with the Privy Council Acts, which begin 20th November, and make no mention of the proclamation. It must have been issued before the 20th. The text is printed in H. Dyson's *Collection of Proclamations*.

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same time, as a note of Cecil shows us, "to consider the condition of the preacher of Paul's Cross, that no occasion might be given by him to stir any dispute touching the governance of the realm."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, on Sunday next, Dr. Bill, formerly Dean of Westminster, whose name is already familiar to us, mounted the steps of the pulpit and delivered what one who heard it called a "goodly sermon,"<sup>2</sup> without any reference apparently to possible or probable changes. Yet there was an ominous ring, as it seemed to some, in the preacher's utterances. So thought Christopherson, the Bishop of Chichester, and took occasion to handle Bill's doctrine somewhat severely when he occupied the same pulpit a week later,<sup>3</sup> for which act of imprudence the bishop was placed in prison for a short time.

The writs for a new Parliament were sent

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Dom. i. No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Machyn's *Diary* (Camden Society), p. 178. See above, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See the account of Sandys, *Zurich Letters*, i. 4.



## *The Story Reconstructed* 57

out on 5th December,<sup>1</sup> and the Parliament was summoned for 23rd January. Meanwhile the news of Elizabeth's accession had made its way across the seas to the various hospitable refuges on the Continent where the exiles who had fled abroad under Mary were hiding in retirement.<sup>2</sup> They began to return forthwith, and on the 14th the Spanish Ambassador informs Philip that "all the heretics who had escaped are beginning to flock back again from Germany, and they tell me there are some pestilential fellows among them."<sup>3</sup> Before another week was over some of the leaders amongst these exiles had started: Sandys, Horne, Grindal, Sampson, who were all to play an important

The return of  
exiles begins.

<sup>1</sup> The writs returned are preserved in the Public Records Office, and bear this date.

<sup>2</sup> It reached Strasburg, 1st December, as a letter written a year later proves (*Zurich Letters*, i. 60). A fortnight is the very shortest period that we can allow for the most rapid communication between England and the various places in which the exiles had been staying, e.g. Frankfort, Zurich, Strasburg, Geneva. This is an important point for dating several letters. See below, p. 135, and compare *Zurich Letters*, i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Spanish Calendar*, 1558, 12th Dec., p. 12.

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part in the events of Elizabeth's first year, were well on their way by Christmas.<sup>1</sup> When we recollect the scenes of religious strife and controversy which had been enacted amongst some of the exiles at Frankfort, and are known as the "Troubles of Frankfort,"<sup>2</sup> we can quite understand that paragraph in the "Device" which shows that the arrival of the exiles was regarded by those in authority with something like apprehension. Yet it is only fair to the Frankfort exiles to remember that they determined to be reasonable in their attitude towards religious change. They sent a letter to the Church of Geneva, signed by Pilkington amongst others, in which the writers say: "We trust that both true religion shall be restored, and that we shall not be burthened with unprofitable cere-

<sup>1</sup> This is proved by a letter from Sandys, written on the eve of departure (*Zurich Letters*, i. 5); and another from Jewel (*ibid.* 6); compared with a third written by Grindal (*Remains*, 237).

<sup>2</sup> This book was anonymously written by Whittingham in 1575. It was reprinted in 1846. For a good general account, see A. B. Hind's *England of Elizabeth*, 1895, pp. 6-67.

monies. And therefore, as we purpose to submit ourselves to such orders as shall be established by authority, being not of themselves wicked, so we would wish you willingly to do the same. . . . Notwithstanding, if any shall be intruded that shall be offensive, we, upon just conference and deliberation upon the same at our meeting with you in England (which we trust by God's grace will be shortly), will brotherly join with you to be suitors for the reformation and abolishing of the same."<sup>1</sup>

But before the exiles began to land there were secret deliberations between the Councillors of Elizabeth as to possible change in religion. Gooderick's "Divers Points" were drawn up certainly before 5th December, for on that day the writs were issued, and it is clear that Gooderick was at the moment of writing ignorant of

Gooderick suggests certain lawful changes.

<sup>1</sup> *Troubles of Frankfort*, ed. 1846, p. xxxix. The letter is dated at Frankfort, 3rd January 1559, and is signed by eleven men, among whom are Pilkington, Alexander Nowell, and John Grey.

the date when Parliament was to meet.<sup>1</sup> His opinion was asked because he was the most eminent lawyer of the time. He gave it as his opinion that a certain minimum of English service might be legally used before Parliament repealed the Acts of Mary. He says: "In the meantime Her Majesty and all her subjects may by licence of law use the English Litany and Suffrages used in King Henry's time; and besides, Her Majesty in her closet may use the Mass without lifting up above the Host, according to the ancient Canons, and may also have at every Mass some communicants with the ministers, to be used in both kinds." This advice is very interesting, for it cleverly catches at the fact that the English Litany as used in 1544 had not been specifically abolished by Queen Mary, and that in consequence it might be lawfully used. Gooderick also raises in his advice the point, perhaps forgotten by Elizabeth, that what

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 202, where the document is printed.

was really Catholic according to the ancient Canons could not be abrogated by later practice. The opinion was at once acted upon, and on 17th December the Venetian Ambassador says: "The affairs of the religion continue as usual, but I hear that at the Court when the Queen is present a priest officiates, who says certain prayers with the Litanies<sup>1</sup> in English, after the

<sup>1</sup> Canon Dixon has written the following note about the two forms of Litany:—"The Parker Society have published two Litanies of this period: one without title, printer's name, or date, and yet rightly assigned by them to this year, 1558. It contains the petition to be delivered 'from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities': and the editor therefore suggests that it was 'an unauthorised publication of the Protestants (so he calls them), solicitous to recover their lost ground after the death of Mary.' I am rather inclined to think it a hasty publication of the revisers of the Prayer-Book (as described above), inadvertently retaining the offensive clause. This Litany has another curious feature or two. It uses 'doulour' for 'sorrows' in the versicle 'Pitifully behold': herein following either the Litany in the Ordinal of Edward of 1549, or else his Primer of 1547, which was a reprint of Henry's Primer of 1545. But that it was not the Ordinal but the Primer that was followed appears from this, that this Litany has three collects in it which are not in the Ordinal and are in the Primer. Edward's Ordinal, then, was not the original used for this republication: nor were (of course) either of his Prayer-Books, which have none of these peculiarities. The point is that Edward's Books must have got scarce, if none could be had to print from. His first Book and his first Ordinal must have been

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fashion of King Edward. . . . They then say Vespers and Compline in the old style.”<sup>1</sup> Nor is that all, for when Christmas Day came the Queen prohibited the elevation of the Host in her presence. The story is told with some variation by historians, but the account of the Spaniard de Feria is probably correct: “On the Sunday of Christmastide the Queen, before going to Mass, sent for the Bishop of Carlisle (Oglethorpe), who was to officiate, and told him that he need not elevate the Host for adoration. The bishop answered that she was mistress of his body and life, but not of his conscience; and so

largely destroyed under Mary: his second Book had not been widely spread in the seven months that it existed. As to the other Elizabethan Litany, published by the Parker Society, it was printed by Jugge, with the title, ‘The Litany used in the Queen’s Majesty’s Chapel, according to the tenor of the Proclamation, Anno Christi, 1559.’ From this ‘the Bishop of Rome and his enormities’ disappear, and the other peculiarities above mentioned. Edward’s second Book was followed in this edition, and from it were added to the Litany the special prayers (for rain, etc.) and the prayer for the Queen, beginning, ‘O Lord our heavenly Father.’ The Creed and Commandments, and a number of Graces for meals, superadded from the Primer, showed that the other original was not forgotten” (*Church History*, v. 24).

<sup>1</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, p. 1.

she heard Mass till after the Gospel, when she arose and left, so as not to be present at the Canon, and adoration of the Host, which the bishop elevated as usual.”<sup>1</sup>

Christmas-time appears to have witnessed certain ritual vagaries on the part of the exiles or of other extreme Protestants.<sup>2</sup> Some people, at all events, despite the terms of the Queen's proclamation, are noticed by the Venetian ambassadors with Philip to have “made a great change and again introduced the custom of celebrating according to the manner observed under King Edward.”<sup>3</sup> When, therefore, the Privy Council met on 27th December, a proclamation was drawn up. It is thus described by the vigilant Venetian<sup>4</sup>: “No one, of whatever grade or condition, should

A proclamation checks irregular services.

<sup>1</sup> *Spanish Calendar*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> According to de Feria, images in churches and religious persons were treated with disrespect in London as soon as it was known that Queen Mary was dying (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 1). The proclamation of 19th November would restrain such exhibitions.

<sup>3</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 2, 3.

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presume to preach, say, treat, or teach, in any other mode, nor according to any other use than had hitherto been customary in the churches, nor to alter or change any ecclesiastical ceremony, except that they were to recite both the Gospel and the Epistle and the Ten Commandments in English, not adding to them nor giving other interpretation, together with the Litany,<sup>1</sup> in the mode used and practised in Her Majesty's own chapel, under penalty of punishment according to the offence." It is clear from these words that some of the exiles, or others, were not only using the English Service, but were also teaching and preaching as opportunity occurred. A somewhat later letter from Lever, one of the exiles, shows that there was a good deal of such illicit preaching attempted, and cases were reported to the Privy Council from time to time.<sup>2</sup> It is also clear from the terms of the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Litany used, see p. 61, note.

<sup>2</sup> See Privy Council Acts, 1559, pp. 65, 66, 67, 87, 92. For Lever's letter, see *Zurich Letters*, ii. 28.



proclamation that the principle suggested by Gooderick of freely using what had not been specifically condemned was further utilised. The Epistle, Gospel, and Commandments in English had been legalised by the Injunctions of 1536, and these had never been repealed. Accordingly, on New Year's Day, in the quaint language of Fuller, "the best New Year's gift that ever was bestowed on England" came into use.<sup>1</sup> We have evidence that the concession was utilised in London, but it may be doubted how far it was generally observed. At all events, no further permission was as yet extended, and at the beginning of January it was particularly noted that "the Queen would appear to continue in the religion professed by her sister."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, so entirely were the Latin service and ritual followed at this time that on 12th January the Privy Council sent a letter to the Bishop of London, to lend to

Otherwise the old ceremonial continues.

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church History*, ii. 438.

<sup>2</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, 8th January, p. 7.

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the Bishop of Carlisle, who is appointed to execute the solemnity of the Queen's Majesty's coronation, "universum apparatus pontificium quo uti solent Episcopi in hujusmodi magnificis illustrissimorum regum inaugurationibus."<sup>1</sup> The coronation took place at Westminster on 15th January, and all the old ceremonial was used.<sup>2</sup> The bishops were present in cope and mitre, with scarlet robes. Incense, holy water, the pax were in use. The Mass was sung, but without elevation, and all the usual rite was performed "according to the Roman ceremonial." Lever, who arrived in London about this time, afterwards sums up the general situation in these words<sup>3</sup>: "When I returned to England I saw . . . or rather I shrank from seeing, masses, and all the follies and abominations of Popery, everywhere sanctioned by the authority of the laws, and the Gospel nowhere to be met

<sup>1</sup> Privy Council Acts, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See Canon Dixon's description, v. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Zurich Letters*, ii. 29.

with." The same writer goes on to describe a concession which is otherwise unknown. He says that, in view of the prohibition of all public preaching or teaching by the proclamation, the Queen allowed those who would to worship in open private houses, but in no public churches; and the magistrates in London connived at such meetings.

We are now on the verge of the great Parliament which altered the whole religious service of the country. Before we trace its work we must go back a few weeks. Within a day or two of Christmas the "Device" was penned.<sup>1</sup> The date is quite certain from internal evidence. It will be remembered that the writer of the paper proposed a committee of divines to review the Prayer-Book. They were Bill, Parker, May, Cox,

The framing  
of the  
"Device," and  
its suggested  
committee.

<sup>1</sup> It must have been before 27th December, on which day the proclamation suggested by it (see p. 26) was published, and about the 25th, because it speaks of the *Marquess* of Northampton, who on that day for the first time sat in the Council. See Privy Council Acts under date. Moreover, this nobleman, designated as Marquess in the Acts and in the "Device," appears to have been recreated Marquess about Christmas, and Stow notes that he was invested on 13th January. See again p. 72, note.

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Whitehead, Grindal, and Pilkington.<sup>1</sup> Now, the curious thing about the list is that two of these men were certainly out of England at the moment. We possess a letter signed by Pilkington at Frankfort on 3rd January,<sup>2</sup> and Grindal cannot have reached London until 12th January. Of the rest, Parker<sup>3</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 59. Grindal's movements are ascertained from the Zurich Correspondence. See above, p. 58. For Parker, see the letters in his *Correspondence*.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Parker (1504-1575). Fellow of C.C.C., Cambridge, 1527. An assiduous student, specially, at that time, in Patristic theology. Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, 1535. Chaplain to Henry VIII. in 1538. Dean of Stoke by Clare, 1535. Master of his College at Cambridge, 1544. Dean of Lincoln, 1552. Deprived of all preferment under Mary. Uses this interval as one of "delightful literary leisure." Summoned to London by Bacon, 9th December 1558. Comes to London in January, and again in February. Preaches before the Queen, 10th February. Goes to Cambridge (?) before 1st March (*Correspondence*, 57), where he still is at the end of April. (*Ibid.* 66.) From this summary of Parker's previous life no special connexion with the other members of the committee is manifest. At Cambridge he had come into close contact with Cecil, the Chancellor, and their letters prove a strong friendship. As we read through the history of Parker's early years at Lambeth, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that Cox, Grindal, Pilkington, and Whitehead were by no means in full sympathy with Parker. See the letter of Sandys concerning Parker's taunt about "Germanical natures." (*Ibid.* 125.) If this suspicion is correct, it is possible that Parker may have had to exert a restraining influence when the Prayer-Book was discussed in February.

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certainly somewhere near Cambridge at the time. May<sup>1</sup> cannot, so far as I have ascertained, be traced. Cox<sup>2</sup> and Whitehead<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William May (d. 1560) became one of the more extreme school of reformers. He had been President of Queens' College, Cambridge, in Henry's reign, and helped to draw up the *Institution of a Christian Man* in 1537. He was made Dean of St. Paul's in 1546. Under Edward he was to the front. He was a visitor in 1547; carried out the order of Ridley for demolishing the altar in 1550. He served as one of the Prayer-Book compilers with Cox in 1548, and probably as a reviser in 1552. He was deprived of his deanery and retired under Mary, but there is no trace of his movements until we find his name included in the list of the "Device." He was restored to the deanery in June 1559. At Cambridge he had certainly come into close contact with Parker (*Correspondence*, p. 34), and must have been well known to Cecil.

<sup>2</sup> Cox appears to have been at Worms when Mary died. See the biographical note below, p. 71. He could scarcely arrive in England before 14th December. See above, p. 57, note. Is it permissible to conjecture that on his way to England he conferred with the exiles at Frankfort? His knowledge of their movements gained in such a meeting would explain the inclusion of Grindal and Pilkington.

<sup>3</sup> David Whitehead (1492?-1571). The oldest of the whole number (cf. *Zurich Letters*, i. 255). An Oxford man of great learning, he had been tutor to Charles Brandon. After Brandon's death Whitehead had been designed for the see of Armagh in 1552. In the previous year he took part in the famous conference on the Sacraments in Cecil's house. Further details in Edward's reign have not been traced. He retired at the beginning of Mary's reign, and, finding himself out of sympathy with the Lutheranism of Germany, obtained a refuge at Frankfort, October 1554. Here he took the side of Cox in the "Troubles," and became pastor for nearly a year. His movements from this point until he arrives in England, probably in December 1558, have not been traced. It would appear that he was of the school of Cox.

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had recently been abroad, but possibly returned with the first band of arrivals about 14th December. Bill,<sup>1</sup> as we know, had preached at Paul's Cross at the end of November. The list of names must have been influenced by some one who knew that Grindal<sup>2</sup> and Pilkington<sup>3</sup> were about to

<sup>1</sup> William Bill (1515?-1561) was a Cambridge man, whose exact sympathies it is not easy to trace. His university antecedents incline us to pair him with Parker. He was Master of St. John's, and Vice-Chancellor in 1549, succeeding Parker in the latter office. Two years later he was Master of Trinity. Deprived under Mary, he went into retirement at Sandy, Beds. It is just possible that Parker, whose place of retirement cannot have been very far off (*Corr.* 52), was with him or near him at this period. Bill is next heard of as the preacher at Paul's Cross, 20th November 1558. It will be noted that a judicious preacher was sought at this time (*supra*, p. 56), and Bill does not seem to have been a strong party man.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Grindal (1519?-1583), a Magdalene Cambridge man, and apparently associated with Pilkington and Sandys in university work (cf. Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 38). He was a friend of Ridley, whose chaplain he became in Edward's days. By his influence he became Precentor of St. Paul's and Royal Chaplain in 1551. In the latter capacity the Articles of 1552 were submitted to him. In Mary's reign he escaped to Strasburg, and then came under the influence of Peter Martyr, if not before. Thence he went to Frankfort and took part in the "Troubles." He was at Strasburg when news of Elizabeth's death came.

<sup>3</sup> James Pilkington (1520?-1576), Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1539; President, 1550. A prominent Protestant during Edward's reign. In 1554 went to Zurich, Basle, Geneva, and Frankfort. One of the signatories to the letter of the Church of Frankfort, 3rd January 1559.

start for England; and I am inclined to conjecture that Cox, thoroughly familiar with the movements of the English refugees at Frankfort, was at hand, and suggested his friends Grindal and Pilkington. Cox and Whitehead were probably nominated by Cecil, to whose prominence in the matter everything points.<sup>1</sup> Cox would be generally recommended by his distinguished antecedents, and particularly by his championship of the book of 1552 at Frankfort; and he would be in favour with the Queen, perhaps, as having been tutor to Edward and to herself.<sup>2</sup> Whitehead was known to

<sup>1</sup> Cecil was at this time the chief mover in all action religious and political. He was the right-hand man of Elizabeth, as Dean Boxall had been Mary's. The Spanish Ambassador says of Cecil in January: "Her present controller [Parry] and Secretary Cecil govern the kingdom, and they tell me the Earl of Bedford (see p. 73) has a good deal to say" (*Span. Cal.* p. 7). Cecil was strongly Protestant, as is well known, and so was Bedford, as the reference (p. 73) shows. This must be taken into consideration in estimating the direction which religious change was likely to take in 1559.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Cox (1500-1581) is one of the most important men to study in the list. His antecedents can scarcely have failed to make his a commanding voice. He first came into prominence as a Christ Church man, to which position Wolsey had invited him.

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Cecil, for he took part in the important discussion at Cecil's house on the Sacraments in 1551. The committee, then, was carefully selected; and all that we know about the various members goes to prove that the majority, at all events, were likely to be available for the work proposed at some time in January.<sup>1</sup>

Then as Headmaster of Eton he began to be known for his Lutheran views. He took part in several religious acts under Henry, *e.g.* the drawing up of the *Necessary Doctrine*. He was for a time tutor to Edward and to Elizabeth, and became a strong friend of Cranmer. He was certainly engaged on the Prayer-Book of 1549, and probably took part in the revision of 1552. He formed a friendship for Peter Martyr. He was Dean of Christ Church, Dean of Westminster, and Chancellor of Oxford in Edward's reign. He also took part in the *Reformatio Legum*. Deprived, and even imprisoned, under Mary, he was allowed to escape to Frankfort, where he arrived in March 1555, in the midst of the "Troubles." He was at once recognised as a leader, and gathered a band of followers round him, who stood out for the book of 1552. His party were successful. He was apparently at Strasburg for a time, and would meet his old friends Pilkington and Grindal there. The news of Elizabeth's accession is said to have reached him at Worms (*Zurich Letters*, i. 26). The influence of his foreign sojourn must not be forgotten in estimating his position in regard to religious change.

<sup>1</sup> The antecedents of the assessors mentioned in the "Device" are worth noting :—

(1) William Parr, brother of Catharine Parr, Marquess of Northampton (1513-1571). Had been educated at Cambridge under Tunstall. Privy Councillor, 1543. Served in various military



And now, in the absence of any specific record, can we penetrate the obscurity which surrounds the actual work of the committee? It was expected that their deliberations

Evidence converges to prove a conference of the committee in February.

capacities. Implicated in the cause of Lady Jane Grey, and was sent to the Tower and deprived of his marquissate. Restored to favour under Elizabeth.

(2) Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, succeeded to the title in 1555. He was a strong Protestant, and had been present with Cecil and Whitehead at the Sacramental Conference of 1551. He was imprisoned for some sympathy with Lady Jane Grey in 1553, and showed much attention to Bradford during the imprisonment of the latter. He escaped to Geneva, and passed on to Zurich and other Protestant strongholds, and into Italy. He returned on the accession of Elizabeth, was made a Privy Councillor, and, as the Spanish ambassador proves, had much influence (cf. p. 71). His position was regarded by foreign Protestants as a pledge of the triumph of the Protestant cause. See the letters to him in *For. Cal.* No. 68, and especially *Zurich Letters*, ii. 8.

(3) William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke (1501? - 1570), a somewhat pliant and fickle character, joined the party of Cecil on Elizabeth's accession. He was in high favour at the end of Henry's reign, and was brother-in-law to Catharine Parr. He was made Warden of Baynard's Castle, which thus became a political rendezvous. Under Edward he was advanced to further honour, and was created Earl of Pembroke in 1551. He gave his aid to the cause of Lady Jane Grey. Under Mary he conformed, and was made a Privy Councillor; but he opposed the policy of Gardiner in religion. He was among the first to attach himself to Elizabeth, and was at Hatfield in November 1558, and was at once made Privy Councillor. He was a close friend of Cecil, and supported his policy. This known friendship of Pembroke with the Principal Secretary is another hint of Cecil's influence in the nomination of the committee mentioned in the "Device." Pembroke's fickleness was again apparent in 1569, when he supported

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would be protracted, and provision was proposed for them and their servants<sup>1</sup> "of wood and coals and drink." Canon Row<sup>2</sup> in

the proposal of a marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and Norfolk.

(4) Lord John Grey of Pyrgo (d. 1564) may probably be classed in respect of religious sympathy with the Earl of Bedford. He was the youngest son of Thomas Grey, second Marquess of Dorset, and was brother of the strongly Protestant Duke of Suffolk. John Grey was implicated in the Wyatt Rebellion in 1553, and was imprisoned for a time. He escaped through the intercession of his wife, and apparently went abroad to Frankfort, where he signed the letter of that church, along with Pilkington, Nowell, and others, on 3rd January 1559. Consequently, he too was abroad when the list of names on the "Device" was proposed. Possibly his name was suggested to Cecil by Cox. See above, p. 71.

(5) Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) was probably somewhat more of the school of Parker and Bill. He was not technically a layman, as has often been asserted. He was a very distinguished Cambridge scholar, and had been a Fellow of Queens' College. He studied law in Italy, and became D.C.L. of Padua. On his return he took an active part in the reform of Greek pronunciation at Cambridge. He was appointed Professor of Civil Law, and held the office of Vice-Chancellor. At this time Parker was Master of C.C.C., and Cecil was Chancellor, so that Smith would be known to both of them. He appears to have had Protestant sympathies in Edward's reign. He was ordained priest in 1546, and became Provost of Eton and Dean of Carlisle. Soon after this he practically retired from clerical work. He was made Secretary of State with Sir W. Petre in 1548. He took part in the *Reformatio Legum*. He retired into hiding under Mary, and reappeared as member for Liverpool in the Parliament of 1559.

<sup>1</sup> For the proposal see below, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Canon Row, near the present Scotland Yard, is described in M. E. C. Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, p. 76.

Westminster, or some other set place, was suggested for their meeting. We have some evidence that Grindal and his party were welcomed by the Queen in January.<sup>1</sup> Grindal speaks, too, in a later letter as follows: "We were urgent from the very first that a general reformation should take place."<sup>2</sup> Such notices go to prove that there was conference of some kind, in which Grindal, at all events, took part on his arrival. But we may go a little further. From Parker's letters we discover that he was in London in January and again probably in February.<sup>3</sup> Doubtless he took part in

<sup>1</sup> *Zurich Letters*, i. 6. "All we hear is [*i.e.* Jewel and his friends at Strasburg, whence he writes, 26th January 1559] that their return [*i.e.* of the party, including Sandys, Horne, and Grindal] was very acceptable to the Queen, and that she has openly declared her satisfaction."

<sup>2</sup> *Zurich Letters*, ii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Correspondence*, 58, 1st March: "When I came first up to London." This cannot have been before 4th January, as the previous letter proves (*ibid.* 57). In the same letter of 1st March Parker says, "At my last being at London"; and then goes on to speak of Knox's *Monstrous Regiment of Women*, lately published. This second visit must have been in January or February, but more probably in February, at which time Machyn proves that Parker was in London to preach.

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some deliberation when he was in town in January. It is, however, probable that the real discussion, the real review of the Prayer-Book, was held in February. We possess, as is well known, the interesting diary of Henry Machyn, a citizen of London.<sup>1</sup> Over and above a value which arises from its picture of London life at that time, this diary is most useful as a record of dates. Machyn has set down the names of all the public preachers. Cox is known to have preached at Westminster on the opening of Parliament in January. He preached again before the Queen on Ash Wednesday,<sup>2</sup> so introducing the whole series of Lent preachers. Parker followed him two days later, on 10th February, Whitehead on the 15th, and Grindal on the 23rd.<sup>3</sup> As we read these names of the preachers in February—Cox, Parker, Whitehead, and Grindal—it is clear that we have four of the seven members of

<sup>1</sup> Printed by the Camden Society, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> Machyn's *Diary*, 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

the committee named by the "Device," and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they were all in London at the time for the purpose of consultation, and were, as the "Device" says, "to bring a plat or book hereof ready drawn to Her Highness."<sup>1</sup>

But when we ask what shape their suggestions took during these February conferences, it is not possible to give a direct answer. If Guest's letter describes a stage in the proceedings, we might suppose that some members of the conference proposed a return to the ceremonial of Edward's first book; but the composition of the committee forbids such a view,<sup>2</sup> and I have given reasons for believing that the letter in question does not refer to these events.<sup>3</sup>

The mystery of these proceedings is natural.

<sup>1</sup> The preachers for the 17th and 19th are not mentioned by Machyn. The fact of a sermon preached is indicated on those days, but the preachers are not named.

<sup>2</sup> The antecedents of the seven as given in the notes above, pp. 68-74, support my contention in the text.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 33-40. It is only fair to add that Strype (*Grindal*, 23) says that "I find him [Grindal] at this work [*i.e.* preparation of the Prayer-Book, 1558-1559], upon Dr. Edwin Sandys his presenting this Assembly with a paper by him drawn up of certain things

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The mystery which wraps the proceedings is not surprising, when we consider the hostility of the bishops and clergy to change. Indeed, a well-informed Englishman, writing from London at the end of February, is quite ignorant as to details, when he sums up the position in these words: "There is a general expectation that all rites and ceremonies will shortly be reformed . . . either after the pattern which was lately in use in the time of King Edward the Sixth, or which is set forth by the Protestant princes of Germany in the Confession of Augsburg."<sup>1</sup>

which he judged needful to be redressed: one whereof was that private baptism, wherein women sometimes took upon themselves to baptize, might be taken out of the book." The entry might be cited as an instance of "drawing in learned men to confer" concerning the Prayer-Book. Strype, however, does not give a reference for his assertion of a proceeding which the context and the history of Convocation in 1563 shows to have been connected with that synod (cf. *Annals*, i. 301).

<sup>1</sup> Richard Hilles to Bullinger, 28th February 1559 (*Zurich Letters*, ii. 17). With regard to the Confession of Augsburg, there is indication of a good deal of talk concerning some kind of common action with the German princes at this time, but no proof, I think, of any serious negotiations. On 1st January 1559 the Duke of Saxony wrote his congratulations to Bedford (*For. Cal.* 61). On 1st March, Melancthon wrote advising the Queen to establish the doctrines and rites of the Church in a definite form. On 5th

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We must now come back to the proceedings in Parliament which the committee were directed to have in view.<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth's first Parliament met, after a brief postponement, caused by her indisposition, on 25th January. Convocation assembled on the previous day. We need not at the moment follow the history of the first draft of the

Parliament  
begins and the  
Prayer-Book  
is presented.

April, Mundt, at Augsburg, at the time of the Diet, speaks of his "proceedings here in her name." See the letter of the Duke of Saxony, 9th May (*For. Cal.* 243), which proves that "friendly union" between the Princes and Elizabeth was talked of, but without any very definite covenant or understanding. Read also Mundt's letter of 10th May (*ibid.* 245). At the end of April the Queen had a talk with de Feria, the Spanish Ambassador, and said that she wished the Augsburg Confession to be maintained in her realm. But the next moment she said that it would not be the Augsburg Confession, but something else like it. This was part of the same conversation referred to below, p. 117. The words of the Ambassador might be taken to indicate a real wish on the Queen's part for a settlement of religion on the Augsburg basis. For this there is no sufficient evidence. Strype, however, asserts (*Annals*, i. 53) that some (he does not say the Queen) desired it; but the letter he cites only says of it *quidam postulanti*, and evidence of any widespread attempt or even wish for such a settlement does not, I think, exist. If it did, it was not to be found amongst those who were inaugurating the change.

<sup>1</sup> The details which follow concerning Parliament are collected from the Lords and Commons *Journals*, which are supplemented by d'Ewes, who wrote about 1620, and had access to some particulars which are not in the *Journals*, and cannot now be traced.

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Supremacy Act, which was introduced into the Commons on 9th February; our attention must be directed more particularly to the question of liturgical change, and the Supremacy Act concerns us only as its history is bound up with that of the Uniformity Act. The Prayer-Book, whatever shape it had now assumed,<sup>1</sup> must have been completed for the present on 15th February, when a bill "for order of service and ministers in the church" was introduced. For some unexplained reason it went no further. Next day the book itself was presented to the Commons, but nothing more is heard of it for some weeks.

Its disappearance is accounted for.

The disappearance of the Prayer-Book in this summary way is not wholly unexplained. The *Commons Journal* records on two successive days, 13th and 14th February, "Arguments upon the Bill of Supremacy"—an unusual kind of entry, which

<sup>1</sup> In default of evidence to the contrary, I assume that the book was that of 1552, with the specified exceptions. See p. 29; cf. p. 103.



hints at strenuous opposition to the measure. The Commons would be little likely to tolerate an entirely new bill conceived in the same spirit whilst the Supremacy Bill was in progress, so that we are not surprised to hear no more of the Prayer-Book until the Supremacy Bill was concluded, which in its first shape was passed on 25th February.

Meanwhile Convocation took heart at the resistance of the Commons, and prepared themselves for vigorous opposition.<sup>1</sup> On the day<sup>2</sup> that the Supremacy Bill is first heard of, the Lower House petitioned that something might be done for the preservation of religion. When the same bill was passed, the two Houses held a conference, and a few days later drew up an *articulus cleri* against all proposed change. This remonstrance was couched in the most solemn language possible. It consisted of five articles, and as we read these it is easy to perceive that

Protest of  
Convocation.

<sup>1</sup> An excellent account of the proceedings of Convocation at this time will be found in Dixon's *Church History*, v. 382.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, on 9th February.

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they have in mind the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., and that this, or, at all events, substantially this book was the shape in which it had come before Parliament. Thus, the first three articles were the articles disputed at Oxford in 1554, which had then been brought forward as a direct arraignment of the Communion Office of 1552. They declare that : "i. In the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the words of Christ duly spoken by the priest, is present *realiter*, under the kinds of bread and wine, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also His natural blood. ii. That after the consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of God and Man. iii. That in the mass is offered the true body of Christ, and His true blood, a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead."<sup>1</sup> The fourth, drawn up in view of the Supremacy Act, and the debate which it occasioned, was

<sup>1</sup> See the account in Dixon, *Church History*, iv. 182.

a full affirmation of Papal authority; and the last article, suggested by the recent course of events, declared "that the authority of handling and defining concerning the things belonging to faith, sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical hath hitherto ever belonged, and ought to belong, only to the pastors of the Church, whom the Holy Ghost, for this purpose, hath set in the Church, and not to laymen."<sup>1</sup> Such was the memorable protest of Convocation, aimed, as distinctly as could be, against the Communion Service of 1552, and the Bill of Supremacy.

February passed, and the critical month of March came on. Having been disappointed in regard to the Prayer-Book, the authorities now tried an entirely new plan. They saw, doubtless, that at this stage it was hopeless to get the book through the Commons. Accordingly, a new bill was introduced in that House on 17th March, "that no persons shall be punished for using the

The Prayer-Book again in the Commons.

<sup>1</sup> See Strype, *Annals*, i. 56.

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religion used in King Edward's last year."<sup>1</sup> This was read twice on the same day—an unusual course, but not without parallel; and it was finally passed the very next day. The proper explanation of this rapid action seems to lie in the fact that Easter Day<sup>2</sup> was near at hand, and, as we shall see presently, the large number of those who desired to have the English Office used for their Easter communion were contemplated in this enabling statute.

The Prayer-Book is annexed to the Supremacy Bill in the Lords; but is opposed and dropped.

We are indebted to the Venetian Ambassador for a fairly consistent summary of what now took place in the debates of the Lords, though it appears to have escaped the notice of historians. We gather from his

<sup>1</sup> The wording of the bill is curious. It would seem at first sight as if it were, what I have called it in the text, an enabling statute granting permission to use the book of 1552 as it stood. But the words of the Spanish Ambassador (see below, p. 86), "a book passed by the Commons," make it sufficiently clear that the book itself was debated and passed by the Commons. The tacking of the Prayer-Book to the Supremacy Bill took place in the Lords, before the Commons had thus passed the book.

<sup>2</sup> Easter Day 1559 fell on 26th March. It had been intended to adjourn Parliament on the 18th. See below, p. 92.

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account, which is supported by other allusions, that at this juncture the Prayer-Book was annexed to the Supremacy Bill in some way,<sup>1</sup> and that both matters were debated simultaneously. A compact and defiant resistance developed. The bishops, constant in their attendance through the session, came down each day, and were joined in their opposition by a small body of noblemen. Speaking generally, the Lords were content to accept the supremacy, but under the leadership of the spiritual lords they were not so ready to receive the Prayer-Book. More particularly the Earls of Pembroke and Shrewsbury, Viscount Montague, and Lord Hastings opposed the bill, whilst the Earls of Arundel and Derby are said to have "absented themselves from indisposition, feigned, as some think, to avoid consulting about such ruin of the kingdom."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A bill being agreed upon by the Lords to be annexed to the Bill of Supremacy, was read *prima vice*" (d'Ewes, under 15th March).

<sup>2</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, p. 52. This important dispatch sheds a

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Of the opposing noblemen<sup>1</sup> and their efforts the Ambassador gives the following account : —“The Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Viscount Montague, and Lord Hastings did not fail in their duty, like true soldiers of Christ, to resist the Commons, whom they compelled to modify a book passed by the Commons forbidding the mass to be said or the communion to be administered except at the table in the manner of Edward VI. ; nor were the divine offices to be performed in church ; priests, likewise, being allowed to marry ; and the Christian religion and the sacraments being absolutely abolished, adding thereto many extraordinary penalties against delinquents.” Then follows the really important part of the Ambassador’s evidence : “By a majority of votes they have decided that the aforesaid

light on the debates which is perfectly consistent with the entries in the *Journals*. To it we are indebted for information of events which would otherwise have been left unrecorded.

<sup>1</sup> For the attendance of the bishops and others on the critical days, see the list, p. 253.

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things shall be expunged from the book, and that the masses, sacraments, and the rest of the divine offices shall be performed as hitherto; but some persons say that this decision cannot last long, the Catholics insisting, at any rate, on retaining the Mass, the offices, and the rest of the sacraments, and the Protestants insisting on the contrary.”<sup>1</sup>

All this is a non-technical account of what took place, but it seems to show that the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., having been passed by the Lower House, was definitely rejected by the Lords, who passed only that section of the compound bill which referred to the Supremacy. The bill so shorn was finally read on the 18th in the Lords, and was then passed despite opposition which was still strong, but not quite so strong as when the Prayer-Book was attached to the bill. We have one speech preserved that evidently was delivered against the shortened bill. It was spoken by Scot, Bishop of

Speech of  
Bishop Scot on  
the Supremacy  
Bill.

<sup>1</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, p. 52.

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Chester,<sup>1</sup> who notes with satisfaction that the opposition of the protesting noblemen had been so far successful as to make the Government drop the Prayer-Book. He likewise congratulates the clergy that the penalties proposed for refusing the new service had been mitigated. The remainder of his long oration, which deals with the question of Papal jurisdiction, has nothing to do with the Prayer-Book and need not detain us.

Speech of  
Abbot  
Feckenham on  
the Prayer-  
Book.

Another speech, which was probably delivered a day or two before that of Scot, has some interest both for the speaker's sake and also for the subject-matter, as it is a direct attack upon the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. It is ascribed in one

<sup>1</sup> Cuthbert Scot (d. 1565) had been Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, under Mary, and was appointed by the Pope in 1556 to be Bishop of Chester. For certain episodes in his career see Dixon, *Church History*, iv. 182, 703. He was a disputant of no mean power, and took part in the great Oxford debate of 1554. For his deprivation and subsequent history see my *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 35, 144, 192. The opening sentences of Scot's speech prove that he delivered it in March and not in April. (Strype, *Ann.* App. vii.)



copy to Feckenham,<sup>1</sup> who was the Abbot of Westminster, and the last mitred abbot to sit in an English Parliament. He appealed to the venerable age of the "religion" which the book would oust. He recalled with something of justice the uncertainties of Eucharistic controversy in Edward's reign: "Every other year having a new book devised thereof, and every book set being set forth (as they professed) according to the sincere word of God: never a one of them

<sup>1</sup> John Feckenham (1518?-1585), Abbot of Westminster, was in many ways a notable character. He had been a Benedictine monk at Evesham, and had studied at Oxford. He received a pension when the monasteries were dissolved. He became chaplain to Bonner. He took part in the sacramental conference of 1551. Made Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1554, he was perhaps the most popular preacher in London during Mary's reign. He was no persecutor, and proved a friend to Bedford when the latter fell under suspicion. Feckenham was sent to convert Lady Jane Grey. He took part in the Oxford debate of 1554. In 1556 he became abbot of the reconstituted Abbey of Westminster, and did much for the abbey church in the next three years. He yielded with some grace to Bill, the new Dean, in 1559. For his speech against the Prayer-Book, see p. 228. It was delivered on a third reading, and this is generally assumed to have been the final reading in the Lords at the end of April. I think that it may be with as much probability referred to the debate in the text in March. At all events, the words about the non-observance of Lent look much as if the speech were delivered during Lent, whilst this neglect of the season was before the eyes of speaker and audience

did in all parts agree with the other. The first book affirming the seven sacraments and the real presence of Christ's body in the Holy Eucharist. The other denying the same. The one book did admit the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament to be received in one kind with kneeling down and great reverence, and that in unleavened bread. The other book would have the communion received in both the kinds and that in leavened bread, sitting without any reverence, but only to the body of Christ which is in heaven." From these

in Holy Week. (See p. 234.) The copy at Cambridge (Parker MSS. 121, f. 127) is ascribed doubtfully by a later hand to Archbishop Heath. The copy in the Cotton MSS., however, is endorsed with the name of Feckenham, and the Ambassador's special mention of Feckenham's opposition makes his authorship otherwise probable. Archbishop Heath's speech against the Supremacy Bill has been preserved, and is given in Strype's Appendix. Feckenham exhibits a supercilious inaccuracy with regard to the Edwardine Prayer-Books. Where did the first book "affirm the seven sacraments"? Where did it prescribe communion in one kind? The reference to the posture in reception is interesting. It does not refer to the book of 1552 as we know it; but, taken in connexion with the words of Guest (cf. p. 38), it may very probably refer to a draft of the book which was never passed, or to Feckenham's confused remembrance of such a stage in the book of 1552. See above, p. 48.

inaccurate statements he proceeded to give a description of religion which we can only hope to have been exaggerated: "Spoiling of churches, plucking down of altars, and most blasphemously treading the sacrament under their foot and hanging up the knave of clubs in the place thereof." Feckenham concluded his speech with a dignified appeal to the Lords: "to persuade your honours, as much as in me lieth, to persevere and continue the same religion whereof ye are in possession, and have already made profession of the same to God."

But to return to the fate of the Supremacy Bill. In these sharp and protracted debates its whole shape as originally sent up to the Lords (27th February) had been altered. The bill was sent down again to the Commons on the day the Upper House completed it.<sup>1</sup> The Commons took it up in high dudgeon. The Ambassador tells us that

Fate of the  
Supremacy  
Bill in March.

<sup>1</sup> *Commons Journal*, 18th March: "The Bill for the Supremacy brought from the Lords by Mr. Attorney to be reformed."

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the Easter recess was to have begun on this very day, but it was determined to carry the matter through, even if they had to continue their sittings into Holy Week.<sup>1</sup> He says : " The members of the Lower House, seeing that the Lords passed this article of the Queen's Supremacy of the Church, but not as the Commons drew it up—the Lords cancelling the aforesaid clauses and modifying some others—grew angry and would consent to nothing, but are in very great controversy, as they must of necessity ratify what the

<sup>1</sup> The Venetian Ambassador, writing on 21st March, says : " Parliament, which ought to have ended last Saturday [18th March], was prolonged till next Wednesday in Passion Week [22nd March], and according to report they will return a week after Easter, which report I believe because of the three principal articles, the first alone passed, viz. to give the Supremacy of the Anglican Church to the Queen, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops and of the chief barons and lords of this kingdom." The Prayer-Book would perhaps be the second article. The third may possibly have been that part of the Supremacy Bill which referred to the erection of the High Commission. It is worth recording that the Ambassador also notes how " the Court preachers in the presence of Her Majesty and the people are doing their utmost to convert the latter, seeking to prove by their false arguments that the Pope has no authority, and uttering the most base and abominable things that were ever heard against the Apostolic see " (14th March). This assertion is confirmed by Cox in the *Zurich Letters*, i. 27.

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Lords have done in the Upper House.”<sup>1</sup> The Commons considered and read the bill in due course on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and then sent it up to the Lords with a new proviso. It was finally read three times by the Lords on the Wednesday<sup>2</sup> and passed.

But what of the Prayer-Book? Foiled in their endeavour to get it passed before Easter, the Government had recourse to a

Proclamation  
concerning  
communion in  
both kinds.

<sup>1</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, 21st March. It is not easy to follow the details without the text of the bill in this shape before us, and that we do not possess. The account should be supplemented with the Ambassador's further dispatch; cf. *Venetian Calendar*, under date 28th March. He says: "Parliament was not only prolonged till last Wednesday [22nd March], but has been sitting ever since, these fathers being unable to agree, as, although they had passed the article about the Supremacy of the Church, they did so under such restrictions that the Commons would by no means consent to it. They are therefore in greater discord than ever, and on Thursday after Easter will sit again and reconsider the matter, which is committed to four good and Catholic bishops, and to four other Protestants." The Ambassador is not well informed here. An entry in the *Commons Journal* shows that there was certainly no sitting of either House between the 22nd March and 3rd April. His words may, however, contain some confused hint of private conferences, and in any case the sitting again on the Thursday after Easter refers to the Westminster Disputation. See below, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Wednesday, 22nd March.

new expedient for those who desired to use the English Book at their Easter communion. By the passing of the Supremacy Act, though without the Royal assent it could not yet become law, the chief Reformation Acts had been revived, and amongst these was the Act legalising communion in both kinds.<sup>1</sup> Easter Day fell on 26th March, and in view of that festival a proclamation was issued on the very day that the Supremacy Act was passed. This proclamation, doubtfully constitutional,<sup>2</sup> made it legal to receive the communion in both kinds. The document recites the desire of many so to receive, and the impossibility of at present enacting any statute for the purpose; it therefore declares the revival of the statute of Edward's first year, which had legalised the reception in both kinds.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Edward VI. c. 1. Given in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> I say doubtfully constitutional, because the bill had not yet received the Royal assent. For the text of this proclamation, which appears to have escaped notice, see below, p. 255. It is printed in Dyson's *Collection of Proclamations*.

No word is said of the service to be used—presumably this matter is purposely left without decision—but it bids people who “cannot have it (*i.e.* both kinds) quietly granted by their priest or curate, yet not to molest the said priest at this time of Easter for the same . . . but to resort to some other honest, discreet, and learned priest and minister either in the same church or some other, and to receive of him the said holy sacrament reverently under both kinds as is aforesaid.”

We cannot trace the general effect of the proclamation, but an interesting view is given by the Venetian Ambassador of what took place at the Court, showing the interpretation put upon the proclamation by the Queen: “Her Majesty appeared in chapel, where Mass was sung in English according to the use of her brother King Edward, and the communion was received in both kinds kneeling, ‘*facendoli il sacerdote la credenza del corpo et sangue*

The Easter  
communion  
at Court.

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prima.' Nor did he wear anything but the mere surplice (*la semplice cotta*), having divested himself of the vestments in which he had sung Mass, and thus Her Majesty was followed by many Lords both of the Council and others. . . . Many persons have taken communion in the usual manner, and things continue as usual in the churches."<sup>1</sup> The words are not free from ambiguity, but the mention of "the mere surplice" suggests at first sight that the actual communion was done according to the rite of Edward's

<sup>1</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, p. 57. The singing of Mass in *English* shows that there is no reference to the Order of Communion of 1548, which followed the *Latin* Mass. The "use of her brother King Edward" might readily refer to the book of 1549, but the mention of the "surplice only" seems to forbid such a conclusion. It may, of course, be urged that the Order of 1549 was followed, and that the celebrant took off the chasuble when he proceeded to communicate the congregation. This is possible, and it might be done where there was a large congregation. Is it so likely in the Royal Chapel with a comparatively small number of communicants? On the whole, "the mere surplice" seems to recall the Rubric of 1552. Moreover, it is possible that "having divested himself of the vestments in which he had sung Mass" may contrast previous communions in the Queen's Chapel. It will be observed that the priest is not said to have sung Mass in vestments, and the words may mean "having laid aside on this occasion the vestments which had hitherto been used." The question cannot be decided with absolute certainty.



second book, which, as we have seen reason to believe, was the form of service that had been before the Parliament.

The defeat which the authorities had sustained over the Prayer-Book must have caused conference and discussion to those concerned. In the issue, an episode comes before us which in Strype and other historians appears to be inconsequential, but is readily explained when taken in connexion with the fate of the Prayer-Book in the House of Lords. A disputation was arranged in Westminster Abbey for the last days of the Easter recess, between representatives of the old learning and champions of the new. We need not trouble ourselves with the course of this debate, which was somewhat of a fiasco.<sup>1</sup> The important thing about it for our purpose is to notice that it was an apology for the rejected Prayer-Book. Three propositions were discussed: "I. Whether it was not against the word of God, and the custom

The Westminster Disputation is held as a defence of the Prayer-Book.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Canon Dixon's account, *Church History*, v. 74.

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of the ancient Church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in the common prayers and the administration of the sacraments? 2. Whether every Church had not authority to appoint, change, and take away ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same were done to edification? 3. Whether it could be proved by the word of God, that in the Mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living?" The first article was a defence of an English service in general. The second vindicated the right of the National Church itself to alter those ceremonies which Archbishop Heath and Bishop Scot had in the late debates referred to the Pope's sole jurisdiction. The last proposition concentrates into itself that tremendous view of the Presence in the Eucharist which the second book of Edward VI. abandoned.

Its nugatory  
conclusion.

The debate on these propositions was unsatisfactory, as technical difficulties of procedure arose which made either side

consider itself unfairly treated. Yet, according to Jewel, what he calls a "useless conference" had one result of importance in that it lessened the prestige of the old learning. "It is altogether incredible," he says, "how much this conduct has lessened the opinion that the people entertained of the bishops: for they all begin to suspect that they refused to say anything only because they had not anything to say."<sup>1</sup>

Parliament reassembled on 3rd April. An obscure fortnight passed, and no steps were taken to bring the Prayer-Book forward again. The hopes of the Reform party were considerably dashed. Jewel, who had only just returned to England, derides the delay. "This dilatoriness," he says, "has grievously damped the spirits of our brethren, while it has wonderfully encouraged the rage and fury of our opponents. Indeed, you would hardly believe with how much greater boldness they now conduct themselves than

Disappointment of the Reformers at the delay.

<sup>1</sup> *Zurich Letters*, i. 16.

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they ever did before.”<sup>1</sup> Grindal ascribes the delay to the wish of the authorities to get peace with France first established before proceeding further.<sup>2</sup> Peace was signed on 3rd April, and two days afterwards a new Supremacy Bill was introduced into the Commons. No very satisfactory theory has been supplied for this surprising procedure. I can only suggest that the Act previously passed had constituted Elizabeth Supreme *Head*, for which theory there is some support,<sup>3</sup> and that the new bill made the significant change to “Governor.” Be this as it may, the bill ran its course and was concluded on 29th April.

But before this took place the Prayer-

<sup>1</sup> Jewel writes from London 20th March 1559, saying that he has just arrived, fifty-seven days after leaving Zurich. He speaks of the exultation of the bishops at the moment, “as though the victory were already achieved” (*Zurich Letters*, i. 11). For the quotation in the text, see *ibid.* 17.

<sup>2</sup> “The Parliament long delayed the matter, and made no change whatever, until a peace had been concluded between the sovereigns, Phillip, the French king, and ourselves” (*Zurich Letters*, ii. 19).

<sup>3</sup> In the accounts of the Ambassadors; cf. *Venetian Calendar*, 52, and elsewhere.

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Book again appeared on the scene. The Uniformity Bill was brought into the Commons on the 18th, and was concluded there on the 20th. It began its course in the Lords on the 26th. The opposition of the previous month was renewed. All the spiritual lords and some others spoke and voted against the book. Bishop Scot once more opposed it. He ridiculed the idea of making religion depend on Act of Parliament. He pointed out the uncertainty of Acts of Parliament when one statute might abrogate its predecessor. In particular, he examined the second Prayer-Book of Edward.<sup>1</sup> It is clear from what he says that there had been, as in Edward's time, a regular debate on the Eucharistic Presence.<sup>2</sup> He ridiculed the idea that the Edwardine book was primitive. He essayed to show that, on the confession of the authors of it, there is no oblation, no real sacrifice, no

The Prayer-Book is once more introduced.

<sup>1</sup> The speech is printed below, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 247.

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consecration performed or intended. With a final solemn warning of the perils involved by change, and a repudiation of their Lordships' right to make and ordain change, Bishop Scot ended the last speech that the old learning ever made in an English Parliament.

The voting in  
the Lords.

This speech was delivered on the day that the Bill was read for the third time in the Lords.<sup>1</sup> It was brought to the vote. In a House which probably did not exceed fifty members present, and by the narrow majority of three,<sup>2</sup> the old Latin Service was abolished, and the Elizabethan Prayer-Book was to take its place. Not a single spiritual lord voted for it, and this anomaly is still inscribed upon the Act.<sup>3</sup> Two days later, Sandys, who had been in London with

<sup>1</sup> 28th April.

<sup>2</sup> The Spanish Ambassador is our authority for this assertion; cf. *Spanish Calendar*, p. 67. We are unable to discover who were present in the House on this critical occasion. See the attendances given below, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> See the Act as it stands at the beginning of the Elizabethan Prayer-Book; or in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 458.

Grindal and others, and had perchance been in conference from time to time on the question of the Prayer-Book, wrote from London to Parker, then at Cambridge, to the effect that the "service-book is gone through." This phrase does not refer to the revision, which Parker would know all about, but to the passage of the Uniformity Act through Parliament. Sandys merely announces the conclusion of the debates.<sup>1</sup>

But what book passed through Parliament? Sandys calls it the "last service-book." It was regarded by all as the book of 1552, changed in three places only. The Act makes this abundantly clear, for it restores that book, with the exceptions mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Correspondents of the time likewise call it Edward's second book, or imply that it was so<sup>3</sup>; and this it was with

What book  
passed?

<sup>1</sup> "The last book of service is gone through with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward, until it please the Queen to take other order for them" (Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 65).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> On 21st May, Parkhurst writes to Bullinger: "The book of

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no difference at all save in the three specified particulars "and none other or otherwise." Changes were to be made, but they did not appear yet; their history forms a separate chapter which must be reserved.

The proviso  
about orna-  
ments.

The triumph of the Reform party was now complete. One matter only would trouble them, if indeed it did trouble them,<sup>1</sup> and this was the proviso at the end of

Common Prayer set forth in the time of King Edward is now again in general use throughout England" (*Zurich Letters*, i. 29). Cox says the day before: "The sincere religion of Christ is therefore established among us in all parts of the kingdom just in the same manner as it was formerly promulgated under our Edward of most blessed memory." The Latin is "eadem prorsus ratione qua sub Edwardo olim nostro beatissimae memoriae promulgata erat" (*Zurich Letters*, i. 28). Jewel to Bullinger, 22nd May: "Religion is again placed on the same footing on which it stood in King Edward's time" (*ibid.* 33). Grindal to Conrad Hubert, 23rd May: "Now at last, by the blessing of God, during the prorogation of Parliament there has been published a proclamation to banish the Pope and his jurisdiction altogether, and to restore religion to that form which we had in the time of Edward the Sixth" (*ibid.* ii. 19). Cox and Grindal, as having been concerned with the so-called revision of the book, would not speak thus if more material difference than the three points had been introduced. The proclamation refers to the public proclamation of Supremacy and Uniformity Acts, which took place in May. See *Venetian Calendar*, p. 84. The change of tone when the alterations were introduced will be noted in its place (cf. p. 135).

<sup>1</sup> There is no reference at this time to the proviso save in Sandys' letter as quoted in the text.



the Uniformity Act, which provided that "such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in the Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the great seal of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm." The words appear to be in direct opposition to the still (at this time) unaltered Ornaments Rubric of Edward's second book. What they meant to Sandys, Grindal, and the other divines who had been in frequent conference during the session of Parliament is made evident by Sandys. He concludes the sentence above quoted in this way: "The last book of service is gone through with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward, until it please the Queen to

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take other order for them. Our gloss upon this text is that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen."

Sandys' explanation of the proviso :

The letter of Sandys is so immediately contemporary that it claims careful consideration. What does it mean? Taking it as a whole, the letter appears to suggest three points with regard to the proviso :—  
(1) Sandys considers the proviso to be a symptom of a reactionary policy.<sup>1</sup> He is evidently troubled by this reaction. He

(1) It is reactionary.

<sup>1</sup> Some account of this reaction is given in the next chapter (p. 116). It has been shown that the bill passed with difficulty. The minority were not strong enough to crush the bill, but they succeeded apparently in adding this proviso at the last moment. Jewel, writing on the day that the bill passed, was evidently yet unaware of it. He says : " Nunc agitur causa pontificis et agitur utrinque fortiter. Episcopi enim sudant ne quid errasse videantur " (*Zurich Letters*, i. 11, Latin). He refers in these words to the final stages of Supremacy and Uniformity Bills. Both sides were striving their utmost to gain concessions. There was incessant planning and plotting all through these weeks. A fortnight earlier he had said : " Many alterations in religion are effected in Parliament, in spite of the opposition and gainsaying and disturbance of the bishops. These, however, I will not mention, as they are not yet publicly known, and are often brought on the anvil to be hammered over again " (*ibid.* 18).

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says of this policy manifested in the proviso and in other ways : "Ye are happy that ye are so far from these tossings and griefs, alterations and mutations ; for we are made weary with them."<sup>1</sup> (2) He considers the ornaments intended to be those of Edward's "first and second year." He affirms this not as a gloss but as a matter of fact. But this view is suspicious, for the proviso distinctly says "second year," and it is difficult to see how second can be first and second. Edward's first Parliament was held in his first year and did not extend into the second. If, then, Sandys weighed his words, we must suppose that he meant the year 1548, which was partly first and partly second, since Edward began his reign on 28th January. In that case Sandys' explanation of the proviso is intelligible. That year 1548 had its own legal ornaments. In the previous year a visitation of the whole country was commenced.<sup>2</sup>

(2) It intends Edward's first and second year.

<sup>1</sup> Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> This great visitation began in the later months of 1547 and

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Every diocese was inspected, and the churches were purged of various ornaments according to the Injunctions of 1547, which the visitors took round with them. Consequently, the ornaments of 1548 denote all those ornaments which the visitors spared. But here we get into grave difficulties, for as we read the churchwardens' accounts of 1547 and 1548 it is quite clear that the ornaments purged away and the ornaments left varied in different churches. But we need scarcely discuss the difficulty, because there is a fatal objection to the view under consideration. The policy of the Injunctions of 1547 could not be described as "by authority of Parliament," for it was initiated and carried through by letters-patent. When

extended into 1548. Every churchman would remember the perambulation of the visitors, and their purging of the churches. They took round with them the Injunctions of Edward, and cast out a large number of church ornaments. In this way "the second year of Edward," 1548, when the visitation was completed, would recall the standard of the Injunctions of King Edward. For the facts of the visitation see Dixon, *Church History*, ii. 433-78; cf., too, Nichols' *Grey Friars' Chronicle* (Camden Society), pp. 54, 55.

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we bear this fact in mind we are almost compelled to remember the warning of Strype that Sandys was speaking as a private individual, and we may perhaps conclude that his words "first and second year" are inaccurate. I can only suggest that he meant to write "second and third year," which would be the correct phrase to use if he intended to designate the Parliament of 1548-49. (3) He suggests in the next place that whilst in the strict letter<sup>1</sup> the proviso directs the retention and use of the Edwardine ornaments, the real stress is on the retention: "We shall not be forced to use them." He and his friends<sup>2</sup> will not be interfered with so long as, pending further directions from the Queen, the ornaments so vaguely defined are not alienated: "Others in the meantime shall not convey them away,

(3) Its stress  
is on retention.

<sup>1</sup> He seems to admit this partly by the general tone of his letter, and particularly by the phrases "which were used," "we shall not be forced to use."

<sup>2</sup> The "we" appears to mean this, *i.e.* the exile party. See the beginning of the letter, where that reference is quite clear. Sandys, Grindal, Pilkington, Horne were still in London.

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but they shall remain for the Queen.”<sup>1</sup> It is clear that he and his friends have lost no time. They have conferred together, and their gloss or interpretation is that just given. It can scarcely be doubted that they had some authority for such a conclusion, and the letter itself almost points to conference with Cecil.<sup>2</sup>

Conclusion.

Reviewing, then, the circumstances and contents of Sandys' letter, it seems safe to conclude that, apart from the probable inaccuracy concerning the ornaments specified, the letter has a double value: (1) As it indicates the reactionary policy setting in at this time; (2) as it tells us of the concession to the members of his party in regard to the use of the ornaments.

So much, at the moment, for Sandys and

<sup>1</sup> In 1549 a commission had been issued to prevent such alienation. It is, he seems to imply, the same policy of restriction over again. "Remain for the Queen" is a reminiscence of a phrase in Edward's days when the goods were kept for the king, *i.e.* for his disposal.

<sup>2</sup> "Mr. Secretary is earnest with the book." How did Sandys know this?

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his explanation. An entirely different view of the "second year" has now to be discussed. According to this, the words refer to the year 1549, and the ornaments specified in Edward's first Prayer-Book. This interpretation has the merit of the simplicity and directness which we might naturally expect in any reference of an Act of Parliament. It sends us back to a definite standard, and not to the highly controversial discussion of what the Injunctions of 1547 actually made legal. Moreover, the Prayer-Book of 1549 was certainly established "by authority of Parliament."

Another view :  
that "second  
year" refers  
to the book  
of 1549.

At first sight, however, it is a fatal objection to this view that the book of 1549 was finally authorised in the third and not in the second year of Edward, since the Royal assent was given in March 1549. The Parliament in question began to sit, after prorogation, on 4th November 1548. Any Act, therefore, of the session 1548-49 would be referred to in legal language as an

But that was  
the third year.

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Act of 2 and 3 Edward VI. In point of fact, Acts of that session are usually quoted as Acts of 2 and 3 Edward VI.<sup>1</sup> It would also be equally in order to refer to them as Acts "made in the Parliament holden upon prorogation at Westminster, the 4th day of November, in the second year of the reign."<sup>2</sup> But in any case to describe the Act of Uniformity of 1549 as an Act of the second year is irregular.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus in 1 Eliz. c. 9, "Whereas at a Parliament holden at Westminster upon prorogation, the second and third years of the reign of King Edward the VI."; in 5 Eliz. c. 8, "One other Act made in the second and third years of the reign of our late sovereign lord King Edward the VI." These instances are normal, and are specially selected as being fairly contemporary with the proviso.

<sup>2</sup> This alternative is found in 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 12. So too in 27 Eliz. c. 14, "Whereas in the Parliament holden at Westminster upon prorogation the fourth day of November, in the second year of the reign of the late king," etc. The form is sometimes expanded, e.g. in 1 Mary, s. 2, c. 2, the Act which repeals the Uniformity Act of 1552: "One other Act made in one other session of the said Parliament holden upon prorogation at Westminster, the fourth day of November, in the second year of the reign of the said late King Edward VI., and there continued and kept to the 14th day of March, in the third year of the said late King's reign." In 1 Mary, s. 2, c. 13, we get, "the session of the Parliament ended at Westminster the 14th day of March, in the third year of the reign."

<sup>3</sup> But it is not without strict parallel. Besides the reference in the Uniformity Act of 1552, which quotes the previous Uniformity



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If the objection just stated is to prevail we are driven back to the view taken by Sandys, despite its difficulties.<sup>1</sup> But is it fatal? In 1552 the Uniformity Act was passed, establishing the book of that year. It describes the first book as "set forth by the authority of Parliament," and calls the Act of 1549 "the Act of Parliament made in the second year."<sup>2</sup> Inaccurate or not,

The Act of 1552 obviates this objection.

Act as an Act of the second year, 1 Mary, s. 3, c. 10, repeals a private Act of 1549 as an Act of the second year. An illustration of similar irregularity is seen in 27 Eliz. c. 18, where the Parliament of 5 and 6 Edward VI. is referred to as in the fifth year. Conversely, in 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. 3, an Act of 2 and 3 Edward VI. is cited as "made and provided in the third year of the reign."

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the "second year" is a reference to the Order of Communion in 1548, and that this Order was authorised by the Act 1 Edward VI. c. 1. As the Order of Communion was used in the Latin Service in 1548, it is contended that the proviso of 1559 directed the use and retention of all the ornaments used in the old Latin Mass. This contention seems to me impossible in the light of (1) the fact that the Order of Communion was never authorised by Parliament; (2) the churchwardens' accounts of 1548, which prove the sale of many ornaments in that year which *ex hypothesi* were legal. See, for instance, the accounts of Melton Mowbray in the Leicestershire Archæological Society's *Transactions*, iii. 180. A chalice, censer, pax, pix, rood images were sold in 1548.

<sup>2</sup> The Act begins: "Whereas there hath been a very godly order set forth by the authority of Parliament for Common Prayer," etc. Then it establishes the new book, "to be accepted, received,

so the words stand in 1552. But blunder or not, the words having been once set down in an Act of Uniformity, it was natural that the next Act of Uniformity should use the same phrase when it spoke of the same Act. In consideration, therefore, of the undoubted reference of the phrase "second year" in the Act of 1552, it may, perhaps, be concluded that the reference in the Act of 1559 is identical. Accordingly, the proviso appears to direct the use and retention of the ornaments authorised by the first Act of Uniformity.

used, and esteemed in like sort and manner . . . as by the Act of Parliament made in the second year of the King's Majesty's reign was ordained and limited, expressed and appointed for the uniformity of service," etc.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SEQUEL: RIVAL POLICIES

WE have seen reason for believing that the Prayer-Book authorised by the Uniformity Act on 28th April 1559 was the second book of Edward, with three changes only, neither more nor less. Now, all printed copies of the Elizabethan book differ far more widely than in these three places from the book of 1552.<sup>1</sup> How far can light be thrown on this singular discrepancy between the book prescribed by the Uniformity Act and the book or books printed in 1559? At present, it is to be feared, no full account of the matter is forthcoming; but a consideration of the materials which survive for the further history

Differences between the book prescribed and the printed copies.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 129 and 258.

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of Elizabeth's book yields some results, and clears away a few of the uncertainties and misstatements that have prevailed.

A reaction had  
set in.

Now, at the outset it appears that something approaching a reaction was begun at the very moment when the book was established by law. Sandys, in the letter of 30th April already quoted, proves both the fact and the strength of this reaction. He says: "After this book was passed, Boxall and others quarrelled with it that, according to the order of the Scripture, we had not *gratiarum actio*; 'for,' saith he, '*Dominus accepit panem, gratias agit*, but in the time of consecration we give no thanks.' This he put into the Treasurer's [Parry] head, and into Count de Feria's head, and he laboured to alienate the Queen's Majesty from confirming of the Act."<sup>1</sup> This is interesting evidence. The Act had not yet received the Royal assent, and Boxall,<sup>2</sup> Dean of Peterborough, a pro-

<sup>1</sup> Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Boxall was on intimate terms with the Ambassador, and as Chief Secretary at the end of Mary's reign, had been a statesman

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minent and influential churchman, saw his opportunity for a last despairing effort to check the book. His design was cleverly conceived, for his objection was supported by the very principle that the framers of the book professed to have been their guide in drawing up the Communion Office in 1552, namely, exact reference to the Gospel account of the Institution. He got hold of Parry,<sup>1</sup> and Parry, as I understand the narrative, got hold of the Spanish Ambassador. The Ambassador was at this time about to leave England, and was in daily conference with the Queen. A long dispatch<sup>2</sup> from him to Philip proves the truth of Sandys' assertion,

of high position. He was formerly a Fellow of New College, and had been a power in Oxford as a disputant in the schools. He was next Warden of Winchester. Appointed Privy Councillor in 1556, he held at the same time the three deaneries of Peterborough, Norwich, and Windsor. At the end of 1558 he made way for Cecil, and his graceful resignation of his office places him in a favourable light. He was one of the very best of the Marian churchmen.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Parry had been introduced by Cecil to the notice of Edward. He was attached to Elizabeth's household at Hatfield in Mary's reign, and was much in the confidence of Elizabeth. On her accession she made him Controller or Treasurer of her household. He strove to promote Dudley's suit with his royal mistress.

<sup>2</sup> *Spanish Calendar*, p. 61.

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and exhibits de Feria in private conversation with Elizabeth, representing to her that she was "doing her best to destroy religion," and discussing Eucharistic doctrine. Incidentally he mentions the fact that "some Catholics had sent to beg me to speak to the Queen before Parliament closed"; but as the dispatch proves, Elizabeth was cautious, and at last told him that she did not wish to argue about religious matters.

A defence is written by the Reform party.

But, apparently, the Ambassador's words occasioned some inquietude; and whilst the Queen did not give way to any solicitations adverse to the book, she or her councillors determined that the representatives of the Prayer-Book should be given an opportunity of vindicating their position. Sandys says: "We are forced, through the vain bruits of the lying papists, to give up a confession of our own faith, to show forth the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and to declare that we dissent not among ourselves. This labour we have now in hand, and purpose

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to publish it so soon as the Parliament is ended."<sup>1</sup> The preface to this important document exhibits the charges that at the moment were being freely brought against the reform party: "Most untruly reporting of us that our doctrine is detestable heresy; that we are fallen from the doctrine of Christ's Catholic Church; that we be subtle sectaries; that we dissent among ourselves; and that every man nourisheth and maintaineth his own opinion; that we be teachers of carnal liberty, condemning fasting, prayer, alms, and like godly exercises."<sup>2</sup> How

<sup>1</sup> In the same letter of 30th April, previously quoted, p. 105. Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 66. It is a useful side-light on the energy of the action taken by "the papists" to crush the Uniformity Bill. See above, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> For a full account of this document, with large selections, see Dixon's *Church History*, v. 107-114. He points out its importance as a connecting link between the Forty-Two Articles of 1553, and the Thirty-Eight of 1563, and draws out that connexion. For our present purpose we note that the writers assert that they have, lately set forth a sum of the doctrine held by them. The reference is to the Westminster Disputation at the end of March. The disputants representing the new learning on that occasion were Scory, Cox, Whitehead, Sandys, Grindal, Horne, Aylmer, Guest, and Jewel. Three of the number, at all events, were concerned with the Prayer-Book of 1559. Sandys says that the document was to be published. There is no proof that it was actually published, but Jewel on

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far the apology which followed wrought conviction may be doubted, but the Queen was apparently satisfied. Cecil remained the steadfast champion of the book,<sup>1</sup> and on the 8th of May the Uniformity Act received the formal assent of the Queen, and Elizabeth's first Parliament was dissolved.

General opinion as to the restoration of Edward's policy.

What was the public opinion, then, as to the character of the changes which were to come into operation at midsummer? Briefly, it was assumed that the general religious condition of Edward's last year had been restored by Parliament. "Religion," writes

28th April says, "We have exhibited to the Queen all our articles of religion and doctrine, and have not departed in the slightest degree from the confession of Zurich, although your friend *Ἀρχιδύκευρος* [Sir Antony Cook] defends some scheme of his own, I know not what, most obstinately, and is mightily angry with us all" (*Zurich Letters*, i. 21). On the whole, we can say no more than that the manifesto was drawn up by some of the exiles who were concerned with the preparation of the Prayer-Book, and by their friends. It was certainly presented to the Queen, and may have gained wider publicity. It was necessitated by speeches like that of Feckenham (cf. p. 228), which ascribed hopeless mutual divergence to the divines now in favour with the Queen and Cecil.

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Secretary is earnest with the book." Parker *Correspondence*, p. 66. See above, p. 110.



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Jewel in May, "is again placed on the same footing on which it stood in King Edward's time."<sup>1</sup> Grindal uses similar language. The Spanish Ambassador is told that "everything is worse even than in the time of King Edward."<sup>2</sup> There is proof that some people acted at once on the assumption referred to, without waiting for the expiration of the seven weeks which still intervened before the Uniformity Act came into force.<sup>3</sup> The Queen set the example to some extent by introducing the use of the Prayer-Book into the Palace Chapel the very day after Parliament ended.<sup>4</sup> Parish churches followed suit.<sup>5</sup> In some places iconoclasm set in without more ado. A letter written

<sup>1</sup> *Zurich Letters*, i. 33, ii. 19; cf. i. 28, 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Spanish Calendar*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> It was provided in the Uniformity Act "that all such parishes and cathedral churches, or other places where the said books shall be attained and gotten before the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, shall, within three weeks after the said books so attained and gotten, use the said service, and put the same in ure according to this Act."

<sup>4</sup> *Spanish Calendar*, p. 66; cf. Machyn, who puts it two days later.

<sup>5</sup> *Zurich Letters*, i. 29.

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to Venice on 10th May records the fact that "already in many churches of London the crucifixes have been broken, the figures of the Saints defaced, and the altars denuded."<sup>1</sup> How far such action proceeded at the moment it is impossible to determine. There is adequate evidence to show that there were instances of this forward zeal about this time "in many and sundry parts of the realm,"<sup>2</sup> so far as altars were concerned. As we recollect how many other articles of Church furniture had been destroyed when altars were broken down in Edward's reign,<sup>3</sup> it is reasonable to suppose that much which had been restored under Mary was demolished in this tumultuary fashion.

The general impression that the last year

<sup>1</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, under date.

<sup>2</sup> The words are taken from the section about "Tables in the Church" at the end of the Injunctions. See below, p. 265; or Gee and Hardy, p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> See the details in *Dixon's Church History*, iii. 200-203, which refer to 1550. The real demolition, as will be seen, took place in the visitation of August-October, 1559, and in subsequent visitations.

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of Edward had been restored must have been quickened by Grindal's sermon on Whitsunday. It was preached at Paul's Cross, where no sermon had been preached since Christmas, saving two at Easter. The Lord Keeper and the whole Council were present, and "the preacher proclaimed the restoring of the book of King Edward."<sup>1</sup> In this authoritative way, then, the restoration was announced, and on the following Sunday Horne preached at the same place a highly controversial sermon on the supremacy of the Pope.<sup>2</sup> Within ten days the Venetian Ambassador declares that in all the parish churches in London "they live in all respects in the Lutheran fashion,"<sup>3</sup> and Parkhurst claims that on the very day of Horne's sermon "the book of Common Prayer set forth in the time of King Edward is now again in general use throughout England, and will be everywhere,

Sermons of  
Grindal and  
Horne.

<sup>1</sup> *Foreign Calendar*, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, p. 94.

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in spite of the struggles and opposition of the pseudo-bishops."<sup>1</sup>

Action of  
Privy Council.

And yet, hard by the very Cross where Grindal and Horne had preached, the canons of St. Paul's at first kept up their services and ceremonial without change.<sup>2</sup> The Privy Council appear to have exceeded their legitimate powers, and to have insisted that the saying of Mass and the divine office should cease. But Bonner would not listen, and pleaded the limit of the Uniformity Act, in which action he was undoubtedly justified. His deprivation taking place at the same moment,<sup>3</sup> the Council became more urgent, and on St. Barnabas' Day succeeded in restoring the former Dean and stopping the old services.<sup>4</sup> This was done at a special

<sup>1</sup> *Zurich Letters*, i. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, 30th May.

<sup>3</sup> For the details see Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> On 23rd May the whole of the Privy Council were given the powers of Commissioners, under the Supremacy Act, to administer the oath of Supremacy. A careful reading of the powers granted by the Supremacy Act (cf. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 447) will show the ample authority with which the Commissioners were furnished. They could plead the powers conferred by statute.

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function when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were present, and some of the Privy Council, and Dr. Sandys preached. "This," as Machyn tells us with unstudied pathos—"this was on St. Barnaby's Day, and the same night they had no evensong at Paul's."<sup>1</sup> It was now evident how things would go, and the cloistered clergy began to seek licences from the Queen to cross the seas, alms being given to them for their expenses in the name of the King of Spain.<sup>2</sup>

And now the Midsummer Day drew on when the old Latin rite must cease, and in the language of the Uniformity Act all ministers should "be bounden to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments . . . in such order and form

The Prayer-  
Book in use.

For the commission to the Council, see Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 39; and compare Dixon, v. 117. This fact about the Privy Council and their commission must be borne in mind. See below, p. 131.

<sup>1</sup> Machyn, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, p. 93. All egress from England without licence had been prohibited by proclamation at the beginning of the reign.

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as is mentioned in the . . . book . . . authorised by Parliament," etc. It is fair to question how far printed copies were at the moment available, for seven weeks would give the Queen's printers a very brief interval for their work,<sup>1</sup> and in days of imperfect communication it must have been impossible to circulate the book immediately in country districts.<sup>2</sup> And, indeed, a letter to Cecil, written on 25th June by Sir Hugh Poulet, complains that there is a lack of the Book of Common

<sup>1</sup> In 1552 the Uniformity Act was passed in April, and Grafton was printing in September when the order to stop the work was given. Doubtless some of the books were out in 1552 before September (see Dixon, iii. 476). In 1559 both Grafton and also Jugge and Cawood were engaged in printing the books. If the revisers had (as I believe, cf. p. 80) settled the exact form of the book by 15th February, it is possible that printing began forthwith. In that case the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of the book, and the altered rubrics, would be added in May and June. But the point is involved in the greatest obscurity. The earliest date that I have found of the purchase of a book of 1559 is 1st July, at Ludlow. The entry at St. Mary's, Reading, precedes the mention of the visitation.

<sup>2</sup> The purchase is generally specified by the churchwardens in 1559, e.g. Ashburton; Ludlow; St. Mary's, Reading; Cratfield; St. Martin's, Leicester; in 1560 at Thame; St. Michael's, Cornhill; and other places; in 1561 at Leverton, etc. There is often no mention of the book at all; it may have been presented in certain parishes. The book seems to have come by carrier's cart in several instances.

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Prayer on the marches of Wales.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious to suggest that incumbents would be able to use the book of 1552 *mutatis mutandis*, but the book had been to a great extent destroyed or had disappeared, although it had made its way round the country much more penetratingly during its short life than is usually supposed.<sup>2</sup> But some copies of the new book, at all events, had been sent out, for there is evidence to prove that "in the neighbourhood of Winchester people refused to receive the Church Service-Book, and the clergy of the diocese assembled to discuss

<sup>1</sup> The letter is written to Cecil on 25th June by Sir Hugh Poulet, Vice-President of the Marches of Wales (S. P. Dom. Eliz.).

<sup>2</sup> This fact is clearly evident from the printed churchwardens' accounts. Thus it is duly entered in 1552 at Tavistock, Devon; Ludlow, Monmouthshire; Stanford, Berks; Smarden, Kent; Yatton, Somerset; South Littleton, Worcestershire. There are entries in 1553 at North Elmham, Norfolk, and Badsey, Worcestershire. These are only specimens from the churchwardens' accounts actually printed, and the list might be enlarged from them. Consider the widely distant places to which the book is thus proved to have penetrated in Edward's reign. I have examined no accounts for the North of England. On the other hand, in several places there is no mention of purchase in 1552 or 1553. As a matter of fact, there are about as many mentions of purchase (in printed accounts) for 1552 and 1553 as there are for 1559.

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what they should do." So the Spanish Ambassador told Philip on 27th June, and four days later he announces "that the Queen has news of religious disturbances in the north country, where they refuse to receive the new Church service."<sup>1</sup>

The text of  
the Prayer-  
Book of 1559.

But what was the Prayer-Book that was now to some extent in use? It ought to have been the book described in the Act of Uniformity, that is to say, the second book of Edward VI., with the three specified exceptions. In point of fact, so far as our evidence goes, it was not precisely the book thus described. The printed copies that survive from the year 1559 show considerable further divergence from the book of 1552, and they likewise exhibit small points of mutual difference. The details of these changes we need not now follow. The most important in the list are the new Ornaments Rubric and the dropping of the Black Rubric.<sup>2</sup> As regards

<sup>1</sup> S. P. Dom. and *Spanish Calendar* under date.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary account of the changes in the existing printed



the Ornaments Rubric, not merely is its predecessor entirely recast, but the new wording is even more opposed to the spirit of the rubric of 1552 than the Uniformity Act proviso. In 1552 the minister was to use "neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but being an archbishop or bishop, he should have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he should have and wear a surplice only." In 1559 he is to "use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of

copies of 1559, and of the copies themselves, see Lathbury's *History of the Prayer-Book*, p. 59. For fuller details consult Clay's Introduction to *Liturgical Services of the Reign of Elizabeth*, xii. sqq. (Parker Series). See a sixteenth-century account below, p. 258. All the changes may be tabulated as follows:—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) <i>Changes specified in the Act—</i>      | (2) <i>Rubrical changes—</i>   |
| (a) Sunday lessons.                           | (a) Concerning chancels, etc.  |
| (b) Form of the Litany.                       | (b) Ornaments Rubric.  |
| (c) Sentences at administration.              | (c) Black Rubric.  |
| (3) <i>Textual changes—</i>                   | (4) <i>Printer's errors—</i>   |
| (a) Number and order of post-Litany Collects. | These are rather numerous. See specimens in Clay, pp. 34, 36, 37, 42, 43, 46, 47, etc. |
| (b) Many corrections of words.                |  |
| (c) The oath in the Ordinal.                  |  |

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this book."<sup>1</sup> The general effect of this latter rubric is patent. The Uniformity Act, as we have seen, included a proviso expressly retaining the ornaments so designated, but without altering the old rubric of 1552.<sup>2</sup> The rubric is now brought into line with the proviso.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The two rubrics and proviso may be exhibited side by side thus :—

(1) *Rubric of 1552.*

And here is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.

(2) *Rubric of 1559.*

And here is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the VI., according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book.

(3) *Proviso in the Act of 1559.*

Such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> But the rubric is made more explicit. In the proviso stress was laid, as Sandys pointed out, on retention. Now the stress is on use. Further, the ornaments are to be used by the minister "in his ministration." There is to be no evasion, and, to secure this, "as was in the church," etc., is changed into "in the church as were in use," etc. The rubric unambiguously supercedes the rubric of 1552, and enjoins the ornaments of Edward's second year.

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But on what authority was the rubric changed? There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that the rubric was reworded on the authority of the Privy Council. The Privy Council had certainly inserted the Black Rubric in 1552, as their published Acts attest,<sup>1</sup> but all the records of the Privy Council from 13th May 1559 until 28th May 1562 have disappeared.<sup>2</sup> Mere fragments embodied in other documents have alone been preserved. We have lost, therefore, the probable record of the changes which can only have been made by their sanction.<sup>3</sup>

Authority for  
this change  
in the rubric.

<sup>1</sup> The entry for the Black Rubric in 1552 stands thus in the Acts of the Privy Council: "A letter to the Lord Chancellor to cause to be joined unto the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth, a certain declaration signed by the King's Majesty, and sent unto his Lordship touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion."—27th October 1552, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> This annoying lacuna is a very strange fact, when we consider how uniformly complete the series otherwise is.

<sup>3</sup> It will be noticed that the proviso of the Uniformity Act expressly allowed other order to be taken by the Queen's authority, "with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of the realm." I have shown above (cf. p. 124) that the Privy Council were constituted ecclesiastical commissioners by the commission of 23rd May. The Ornaments Rubric was not a taking of further order: it was the proviso

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I am unaware of any contemporary suggestion of illegal action in this rubric.<sup>1</sup> That suggestion was only made in later days. But whilst we cannot refer to the Privy Council minute, we can trace the discussion which led to the altered rubric. Jewel writes to Peter Martyr about the end of May or the beginning of June, and uses these significant words: "The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation, and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons (for *we* are not consulted), as if the Christian religion could not exist without something tawdry."<sup>2</sup>

cleared from ambiguity and made into a rubric. The mention of the commissioners would endorse their action if they, as I presume, altered the rubric.

<sup>1</sup> In order to prove that the rubric had legal sanction the Uniformity Act was printed in the book of 1559, and the statement was added to the Ornaments Rubric, "according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book." In this way the ornaments of Edward's second year were declared and proved to possess the authority of the Parliament of 1559.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin original is a little more forcible: "*Agitur nunc de sacro et scenico apparatu; quaeque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc, a nescio quibus (nos enim non advocamur in consilium) serio et graviter cogitantur, quasi religio Christiana constare non*

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Is it not clear from this side-light that the policy concerning ornaments which was inaugurated by the proviso and confirmed explicitly by the rubric was the work of some person or persons unnamed, who are, at all events, other than the school of Cox,

possit sine pannis. Nos quidem non ita otiosi sumus ab animo ut tanti possimus facere istas ineptias. Alii sectantur auream quandam, quae mihi plumbea potius videtur, mediocritatem; et clamant Dimidium plus toto." He had said immediately before the words quoted: "Ita misere comparatum est ut mendacium armatum sit, veritas autem non tantum inermis verum etiam saepe odiosa" (*Zurich Letters*, i. 23 and 13, Lat.). The passage is most important. It appears to me to have been written just at the moment that the rubric was being drawn up, and it marks the passage from mere retention to use of the ornaments. The exile party (observe the "we" as in Sandys' letter above, p. 109) are out of favour. "Certain persons" are vindicating the "rags." Others are striving for a golden mean. This false policy, as it seems to Jewel, has might on its side, whilst what he calls the truth is losing friends. We have, so far as I find, no other allusion so contemporary. We may well suppose that peculiar care was taken, after all that had been said about unanimity, to keep the whole transaction as private as possible. A word must be added about the date which I have assigned in the text to Jewel's letter. It is undated. It speaks, however, of certain disturbances in Scotland. These are described in a letter (*Foreign Calendar*, 19th May) which was written from Scotland on 19th May. The general visitation of England had been planned, and the details of this were known certainly by 13th June (*ibid.* under date). Bonner has just been "ordered to vacate" his see, and he was actually *deprived* on 30th May. Other allusions fit in with the condition of affairs about 29th May or at the beginning of June. No other date is possible.

Grindal, Sandys, Jewel, and so forth?<sup>1</sup> In other words, the reaction which began, perhaps in April, under the influence of de Feria culminated in a rubric that was in direct opposition to the tone of the rest of the Prayer-Book. For consider what was involved: under Edward in 1552 the revised Communion Office was said at a table lacking all ornaments, by a priest arrayed in surplice only, in a church from which crucifix, candle, banner, censer, corporas, and sacring bell had entirely disappeared. Under Elizabeth

<sup>1</sup> I doubt whether the Queen had much to say to the new rubric. It has been shown above that she was, generally speaking, in harmony with the divines of the exile party (p. 52). The "certain persons" must remain a mystery. Cecil is out of the question. No action of his throughout the first year of Elizabeth would point to his influence in the matter. Indeed, all that we know of him indicates his hearty acceptance at the time of Edward's second book (see below, p. 154). If a theory is to be put forward it must be in favour of a small knot of Privy Councillors who had held similar office under Mary, viz. the Earl of Shrewsbury (above, p. 86), the Earl of Arundel (above, p. 85), the Earl of Derby (above, p. 85). The Spanish Ambassador on 19th June speaks of divided sympathies in the Council. Was this assertion of his based on some definite rumour? At all events, it fits in with the hypothesis of the reactionary clique just mentioned. The loss of the Council Acts makes it impossible to reach the facts of the case.

that same office was to be said word for word the same, save for the altered sentence in communicating, in a church where all the ornaments in use in the second year of Edward were to be retained.<sup>1</sup> And this direction was made, as we have seen, at the very moment that crucifixes were being broken and stone altars were being destroyed in "many and sundry parts of the realm," on the general assumption that Edward's second book had been restored.<sup>2</sup>

This action of the Privy Council spread dismay among the ranks of those who had considered that the ritual and Prayer-Book of 1552 were once more legal. An unnamed correspondent, who is probably Grindal,<sup>3</sup>

Dismay felt  
by the Reform  
party.

<sup>1</sup> What these ornaments were depends, of course, on the interpretation of the "second year of King Edward." They cannot have been less than those of the book of 1549, and they may have been more. Cf. p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> This correspondent is, however, said by the Parker Society editor to have been Sampson. We have only the answer written by Peter Martyr (*Zurich Letters*, ii. 25). It is dated 15th July, and this date helps to throw back the alteration of the rubric and the discussion occasioned by it to a period not much later than 1st June, if so late. A letter from England would have taken, even

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Bishop-nominate of London, wrote off at once to Peter Martyr to ask his advice, hinting that he might feel bound in conscience to forego the proffered function. Peter Martyr admits that it is no dispute about matters indifferent, and asks this question: "Will any one who is somewhat better instructed in religion, when he sees you, a messenger of Christ and zealous herald of the Gospel, arrayed in these vestments, praying at an altar before the image of the crucifix, repeating holy words and distributing the sacraments—will any one, I say, not think that these rites are not only tolerated, but also approved by you?"<sup>1</sup>

Further order  
taken in the  
Injunctions.

But meanwhile, as regards ornaments, another policy was being framed, with sup-

in summer, at the least a fortnight to reach Zurich. It may be urged that Grindal's letter was written when the proviso of the Uniformity Act was first published. This is scarcely possible, as the letter seems to speak of Grindal's proffered bishopric, which was not mentioned before the end of May or beginning of June.

<sup>1</sup> *Zurich Letters*, ii. 25. The words are important as showing the interpretation placed upon the rubric (or proviso) by Peter Martyr's correspondent. Neither crucifix nor cross was mentioned among the ornaments of 1549.



port so strong and operation so wide in its effects that the fears of Grindal and his fellows were completely allayed for the present. Under the direction of Cecil, as I think we may take it, the Injunctions of Elizabeth were drawn up. They constituted in some of their provisions a very patent modification of the Ornaments Rubric, indeed a taking of further order,<sup>1</sup> and, in their general scope, affected the services of the Church of England for many years to come. Nearly at the end of the series is a paragraph headed "For Tables in the Church."<sup>2</sup> Now by the Ornaments Rubric stone altars were legal;

<sup>1</sup> The Injunctions were ready and complete before the 13th of June, as a letter written by Cecil on that day proves (*For. Cal.*). Were the provisions in the Injunctions dealing with ornaments, the taking of further order spoken of in the proviso (above, p. 105)? They were certainly a further order. They were issued by the authority of the Queen. They were ministered by the Queen's visitors (below, p. 142), appointed by letters-patent under the great seal. Their provisions, so much opposed to those of the rubric, became the rule of the Church of England. The clergy generally had to acknowledge them (see my *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 45). It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they were the taking of further order, and this was apparently the view of Parker himself (*Correspondence*, p. 376).

<sup>2</sup> See the selections from the series below, p. 265.

but the Injunctions, in language of some ambiguity, appear to contemplate the taking down of the stone altars and the erection of a holy table in every church where the altar stood.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, this great change was duly carried out all over the country. Another injunction of a like ambiguity directed the churchwardens of each parish to prepare an inventory of church goods—"vestments,"<sup>2</sup> copes, and other ornaments, plate, books, and especially of grails, couchers, legends, processionals, manuals, hymnals, portasses, and such-like appertaining to their church."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exact words are : "It is ordered that no altar be taken down but by oversight of the curate of the church, and the churchwardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner to be used, and that the holy table in every church be decently made," etc.

<sup>2</sup> On any interpretation "vestments and copes" were lawful by the Ornaments Rubric.

<sup>3</sup> With the injunction referred to above should be read the Articles of Inquiry drawn up at the same time, or soon after, in readiness for the visitation of England and Wales (see selections from them below, p. 267). It should be observed that the Injunctions and Articles of Inquiry were constantly being reprinted all through Elizabeth's reign. They were often printed separately. I find in the British Museum copies surviving of several editions of both. The explanation of their frequent reissue, unmodified in form, is that they were constantly in use at the visitations of bishops and archdeacons.

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It does not say that these were illicit articles, but such inventories had a history. Under Edward they had often preceded the alienation of church goods.<sup>1</sup> Those who read this injunction might naturally assume<sup>2</sup> that this new inventory portended a similar surrender,

Who revised and expanded the Injunctions in 1559? Cecil had a hand in them, I suspect, for the exhortation about the supremacy exists in a draft corrected by him in the State Papers (S. P. Dom. Eliz. xv. 27). Cox appears to have taken a share in them (cf. Strype, *Annals*, App. 21). Parker was summoned to London at the end of May. From a note by him (Strype's *Parker*, p. 95) we get a hint of conference at this time between Parker and others.

<sup>1</sup> This may seem a contradiction. Professedly they were made to prevent the alienation of church goods. Actually they usually preceded some new policy and some authorised defacement of ornaments. Thus in 1549 inventories were taken by the sheriff and justices of each county on account of the alienation that was going on. The commissioners in that year expressly forbade further alienation. This order was followed by the demolition of altars in 1550 under the authority of the Privy Council, which action was a contradictory sequel to the commission. In 1552 inventories were taken again, and inquiry was made of goods stolen or taken away. This was followed by the final Church Goods Commission of Edward's reign, under which a vast amount of church ornaments was confiscated. It should be added that the whole history of church goods under Edward is in itself exceedingly involved, and that it has been made even more intricate by the mistakes of historians as regards dates and facts. I am engaged upon an examination of the whole question with my friend Mr. William Page. I think that the facts contained in this note are beyond dispute.

<sup>2</sup> See the words in the injunction about Tables below, p. 265.

and they would perceive that vestments, copes, and plate, which were enjoined by the Ornaments Rubric, were placed by the Injunctions in the same category as those service-books which were rendered quite obsolete by the Uniformity Act.

The  
Injunctions  
modify the  
Ornaments  
Rubric.

These provisions of the Injunctions indicate a modification of the Ornaments Rubric. Another enactment in the same series may be noticed in passing, as it altered the appearance of every church in the land, and swept away all those ornaments of the church and the minister which had got to be known as "monuments of superstition." By its order there was to be total destruction of all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables [*i.e.* engraved pictures], candlesticks, trindals and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition."<sup>1</sup> This injunction

<sup>1</sup> This injunction was not new. It existed as No. 29 in the series of 1547, and no doubt its action was felt all over the land. Cf. Dixon, *Church History*, ii. 433. See the note *ibid.* It may be noticed here that one article of inquiry in 1547 ran thus: "Whether

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was the final death-blow to all such mediæval art as had survived the reign of Edward VI. and could in any way be regarded as superstitious.

With the framing of these Injunctions we reach the contradictory conditions which surround the Ornaments Rubric. That rubric, perfectly legal<sup>1</sup> in itself, undoubtedly restores the ornaments of Edward's second year—altar, alb, chasuble, cope, tunicle, and so forth.<sup>2</sup> The Injunctions as undoubtedly modify this position by directing, in effect, the destruction of altars, and by placing the mention of chasubles, copes, and other ornaments in such a connexion as to raise the presumption of their illegality. How did

Thus begins the perplexity of the Ornaments Rubric.

there do remain not taken down in your churches, chapels, or elsewhere any misused images with pilgrimages, clothes, stones, shoes, offerings, kissings, candlesticks, trindals of wax, and such other like; and whether there do remain not delayed and destroyed any shrines, coverings of shrines, or any other monument of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy."

<sup>1</sup> This must, I think, be admitted. The rubric was put in by the Privy Council, it is probable, on the express authority of the Uniformity Act itself, to which the rubric refers in justification.

<sup>2</sup> If, however, the second year is the year 1548, as explained by Sandys above, p. 107, we must add other ornaments.

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these mutually contradictory policies work out? There can be no doubt that the policy of the Injunctions practically crushed the other, though it never succeeded in getting rid of the rubric.<sup>1</sup>

A general visitation is begun.

A visitation<sup>2</sup> of the whole country was ordered, and amongst the duties of the visitors we may note that they were bidden to deliver the Injunctions and Articles of Inquiry, and to see that they were carried out.<sup>3</sup> The visitation began in August, and

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we get a hint that it was desired in the early years of Elizabeth. Thus Dorman in his *Proof*, p. 118, A.D. 1564, says: "And whether you yourself, Mr. Jewel, have at any time, by private letters to Francis Baldwin, cast out any bywords to that effect of changing some such things which yet you take to be but greenly handled, upon better leisure, you know best yourself—at the least he hath so reported of you."

<sup>2</sup> This visitation has been much perplexed by historians, who have confused it with the permanent ecclesiastical commission. The latter was stationary and permanent: its headquarters were in London. The visitation was ambulatory and temporary. Letters-patent, ordering the visitation, were issued on and about Midsummer Day. The permanent commission was appointed on 19th July. For an explicit account of the visitation, see Canon Dixon, *Church History*, v. p. 141. It should also be noted that it followed the precedent of Edward's visitation of 1547 in idea and general scheme.

<sup>3</sup> The visitors of 1547 had likewise carried Injunctions and Articles of Inquiry with them. The Injunctions were the basis

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lasted until the end of October. Those three months changed the aspect of the Church of England. On the 13th of August the Spanish Ambassador notes that "they have just taken away the crosses, images, and altars from St. Paul's and all the other London churches."<sup>1</sup> A somewhat questionable course of action was taken in London on St. Bartholomew's Day, when the city was full of all manner of people from all over the country at the great fair held in Smithfield. On that occasion, in public places, Machyn tells us, they destroyed "all the roods and Maries and Johns, and many other of the church goods, both copes, crosses, censers, altar cloths, rood cloths, books,

of those of 1559. See the two series collated, Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 417.

<sup>1</sup> *Spanish Calendar* under date. Here we begin to see that the visitors completely ignored the Ornaments Rubric, if "second year" refers to 1548, so far as crosses are concerned. The images, i.e. the Rood Mary, and John, were specially rendered illegal in 1547, and again by the Injunctions of 1559. It is, I think, clear that the visitors had met and conferred before starting for their work, and had settled a course of uniform procedure. Parker, as hinted in a previous note, refers to such conference (Strype's *Parker*, p. 95, and above, p. 139).

banners, and banner-stays, wainscot, with much other gear about London.”<sup>1</sup> He also tells us that they were burned with great wonder. Now, as the very same set of visitors went from London into the dioceses of Norwich and Ely,<sup>2</sup> we may presume that the same kind of action went on there, and that articles which were perfectly legitimate under the Ornaments Rubric were included in one indiscriminate holocaust with “popish peltry,” as these church goods were now to be called. That similar scenes were expected in other parts of England is proved by a letter of the venerable Bishop Tunstall, in which he complained of the pulling down of altars, defacing churches, and taking away crucifixes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machyn's *Diary*, pp. 207, 208 ; note the mention of copes.

<sup>2</sup> See the lists of visitors in Dixon.

<sup>3</sup> Tunstall's letter to Cecil, written from London on 19th August, deserves to be inserted so far as it refers to the visitation : “And where I do understand out of my diocese of a warning for a visitation to be had there, this shall be to advertise your master-ship that albeit I would be as glad to serve the Queen's Highness, and to set forwards all her affairs to her contentation, as any subject in the realm, yet if the same visitation shall proceed to such end in



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These references to the work of the visitors are confirmed from other sources. Further account of the visitors' work.

We have, for instance, a large number of churchwardens' accounts of the year 1559, for many parts of England.<sup>1</sup> They prove the taking down of the altars, and the sale of many of the articles which we have seen destroyed in London. Thus in the accounts of St. Mary Woolnoth we get these items: "For taking down the rood, 8d.; for trimming where the altar stood, 3s. 4d.<sup>2</sup>; for the charge for taking down the images, 2s. 2d.;

my diocese of Durham as I do plainly see to be set forth here in London, as pulling down of altars, defacing of churches by taking away of the crucifixes, I cannot in my conscience consent to it, being pastor there, because I cannot myself agree to be a sacramentary, nor to have any new doctrine taught in my diocese. Whereof I thought meet to advertise your worship, humbly beseeching the same not to think me thereunto moved either for any frowardness, malice, or contempt, but only because my conscience will not suffer me receive and allow any doctrine in my diocese other than catholic, as knoweth Almighty Jesu, Who ever preserve your worship to His pleasure and yours." Tunstall wrote the same day in exactly the same words to Parry, the Queen's Controller. He desires an interview with the Queen during the progress that she was then making.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly every set of churchwardens' accounts yet printed has mention of the pulling down of altars in or near 1559. See below, p. 175. It was *ultra vires* to pull down the rood-loft in 1559 (cf. p. 185). Similar irregularity occurred in Edward's reign.

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for their charge that carried the images to be burnt—and the drinking (!), 10d.” From such accounts we can see the whole process : the summons of the apparitor<sup>1</sup> for the churchwardens to attend at some specified church on a particular date ; the inventory<sup>2</sup> of church ornaments made out ; the assurance that the images and pictures have been destroyed or will be destroyed ; the inquiries made and answered ; in some cases the actual carting of the goods to the designated spot for the *auto da fé*.<sup>3</sup> The churchwardens’ accounts, meagre in themselves, are supplemented by a return for 150 parishes in the diocese of Lincoln.<sup>4</sup> It really belongs to the

<sup>1</sup> This item is usually included under the general heading of expenses at the visitation. So at Hawkhurst and St. Michael’s, Worcester.

<sup>2</sup> “Making our bill when the visitors came to town.”—St. Mary’s, Reading. So too at St. Michael’s, Cornhill ; at Yatton, Somerset ; at St. Michael’s, Worcester.

<sup>3</sup> See Peacock’s *Church Furniture*, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> This valuable return, preserved in a mutilated manuscript in the Bishop’s Registry at Lincoln, was printed by Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., in 1866. I have not yet discovered the commission which led to the return so made. In certain places the commissioners are called Royal Commissioners. There is no entry

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year 1566, but it gives a review of the fate of all church goods from the beginning of the reign. The fullest account is that given by the churchwardens of Grantham: "We present that the rood-loft stood up in carved work in the first year of the Queen's Majesty's reign that now is, and was broken down and sold and the money to the use of the poor and paying wages for taking down to car-

of such a commission in the Patent Rolls. A letter, however, of John Aylmer, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and dated 14th April 1565, appears to give the clue. Writing to Sir N. Throckmorton, he says: "Mr. Secretary took a note when I was with him of a commission to the Bishop of Lincoln and others for reforming of this church and diocese, whereof I have also written to my Lord of Leicester. If Mr. Secretary forget it or forslow it, I pray you put my Lord in mind to call upon him for it, for undoubtedly this country hath as much need of it as any place in England" (S. P. Dom. Eliz., Addenda xii. 54). This return, which is imperfect, may therefore be taken to give the result of Aylmer's request. Incidentally it contains a great deal of useful information. From it we gather, for instance, that there had been several episcopal and archidiaconal visitations in which these "monuments of superstition" had been made objects of search. One in particular of 1565 seems to have been severe (see pp. 48, 107, 135). No doubt it was conducted by Aylmer, and the great visitation of 1566, recorded in the return, was intended to complete the work. I have not discovered whether the visitation of 1566 extended to other dioceses. Its returns are often made in chronological order. I have distributed its notices of the fate of church goods, where dated, under the various years, for the purpose of aiding my judgment in the conclusions expressed in this book.

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penters and masons, and of the surplusage account was made by John Taylor, then being churchwarden, to Master Bentham, Master Fleetwood, and Master Everington, then being visitors. Item, the Rood Mary, and John, and all other idols and pictures, mass - books, legend - books, and all other papistical books and ceremonies was openly burned at the cross called the Market Cross in the said year, Master William Porter then being alderman. Item, the vestments, copes, albs, tunicles, and all other such baggages was defaced and openly sold by a general consent of the whole corporation, and the money employed in setting up desks in the church, and making of a decent Communion Table, and the remnant to the poor.”<sup>1</sup>

Completeness  
of the  
visitors' work.

Now, a moment's reflexion must convince us of the gigantic task which these visitors had

<sup>1</sup> Peacock's *Church Furniture*, p. 87. The visitors for the dioceses of Lincoln, Oxford, Peterborough, Coventry, and Lichfield are specified in Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 97. Bentham and Fleetwood were amongst the number, and Everington is probably a mistake for Nevinson.

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before them. They only sat at certain centres.<sup>1</sup> There was infinite possibility of collusion. Vicar and churchwarden, if no zealous Protestant justice were at hand, might agree to neglect the promises of destruction that they made to the visitors. And such designed forgetfulness existed. Vestments and books, altars and banners, and many other articles were in some cases saved from the general destruction. Some that were gifts were conveyed away by the donors. Instances of the survival<sup>2</sup> of albs and chasubles and copes, of crismatories, crosses, and cruets, of sacring bells and sepulchres and veils, are found as late as 1566 in Lincolnshire, and search was made for them by Grindal in the northern province in 1571. Still, the fact remains that in a large number of cases the visitors not only ordered the destruction of these "monuments of superstition" in 1559, but

<sup>1</sup> I have followed these sessions for certain dioceses as completely as known records permit. See *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> The question of survival is touched upon below, p. 169.

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that a common fate involved as well banners, crismatories, cruets, holy-water stocks, paxes, pixes, bells, Easter sepulchres, as the ornaments which on any interpretation the rubric made legal.

The Queen  
revives the  
use of vest-  
ments, etc.

But how fared it during these operations with the other policy? It did not submit without a struggle, but in the end it did submit. At the beginning of October, and before the visitors returned from their perambulation, a wedding took place at Court, which is thus described by Quadra: "The Queen ordered the marriage of one of her lady-servants to take place in her own chapel, and directed that a crucifix and candles should be placed upon the altar, which caused so much noise amongst her chaplains and the Council that the intention was abandoned for the time; but it was done at vespers on Saturday, and on Sunday the clergy wore vestments as they do in our services, and so great was the crowd at the palace that disturbance was feared in the city. The fact

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is, that the crucifixes and vestments that were burnt a month ago publicly are now set up in the Royal Chapel, as they soon will be all over the kingdom, unless, which God forbid, there is another change next week.”<sup>1</sup> Now, what is the explanation of this? It arose, I believe, from a desire to conciliate the feelings of those whom I suppose we may call Roman Catholics at home and abroad. The Ambassador says it was done “out of sheer fear to pacify the Catholics.” Jewel speaks three weeks later of what he calls “the scarcely credible rage of the Papists.”<sup>2</sup> Now, at this

<sup>1</sup> *Spanish Calendar* under date. Under what authority did the Queen reintroduce the crucifix, candles, and vestments? It must be remembered that we are considering the case of the Chapel Royal alone. Here she would be at liberty to do as caprice or inclination directed, and would not necessarily be tied down by law and rubric. The quotations from the *Zurich Letters* seem to show that crucifix, candles, and vestments were in use only in the Chapel Royal, and not elsewhere. The vestments would be legal by the *Ornaments Rubric*. The candlesticks and cross not being mentioned in the book of 1549, were not explicitly legal under the interpretation which refers “second year” to that book. They would be legal if “second year” denotes the policy of the injunction of 1547-58. See above, p. 107. In support of the view that the Queen was following the dictation of her own fancy, notice what is said about the rood-images, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Zurich Letters*, i. 48.

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very time Elizabeth was coquetting with the Archduke Ferdinand. It seems probable that for the moment her fancy favoured him more than her other suitors. It was generally supposed that she would marry before Christmas, and the match was considered popular.<sup>1</sup> It is more than probable that crucifix and vestments were reintroduced at this time for political reasons, in order to conciliate the Emperor and his son the Archduke when they heard of the work of the visitors. There is, I think, no evidence that the ornaments in question had been in use in the Royal Chapel since Easter.

A controversy  
begins.

The fears of the reform party in England, allayed by the action of the visitors, were roused afresh by the scene in the Queen's chapel. The next six months witnessed a sharp controversy. The bishops-elect appear to have addressed more than one remonstrance to the Queen.<sup>2</sup> Cox at this time, or

<sup>1</sup> These details are gleaned from the correspondence in the *Foreign Calendar*.

<sup>2</sup> Canon Dixon points this out. He quotes the words from a



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perhaps somewhat later, wrote a letter to her, in which the Queen's old tutor described himself as discharging a painful duty, "prostrate and with wet eyes."<sup>1</sup> His friends sent anxious inquiries to Peter Martyr, or announced the reaction with something like indignation. Sampson, who comes into notoriety some years later for his opposition to all ecclesiastical garb, tells Martyr that "the altars indeed are removed and images also throughout the kingdom; the crucifix and candles are retained at Court alone. . . . Three of our lately appointed bishops are to officiate at the table of the Lord, one as priest, another as deacon, and a third as sub-deacon, before the image of the crucifix, or at least not far from it, with candles, and habited in the golden vestments of the Papacy."<sup>2</sup> He even begs

remonstrance presented in 1560: "We have heretofore at sundry times made petition to your Majesty concerning the matter of images" (*Church History*, v. 173).

<sup>1</sup> It is given by Strype, *Annals*, i. App. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Zurich Letters*, i. 63. There are some other references between October 1559 and Sampson's letter of January 1560. Thus on 5th November Jewel writes to Peter Martyr: "De religione quod

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Martyr to write a judicious letter of expostulation to the Queen.

A conference  
is held.

But the Queen was determined.<sup>1</sup> The controversy came to a height in the next February (1560), a month after the letter just quoted was written. It was determined to hold a conference on the question by the authority of the council, but no full report of it exists. Incidental allusions show that Jewel, at all events, intended to resign his bishopric if the decision were adverse to his views; that the Queen was anxious to reintroduce not only

scribis et veste scenica, O utinam id impetrari potuisset! Nos quidem tam bonae causae non deficimus." This *may* refer to the 30th Injunction and the outdoor garb of the clergy. It appears to me to be a reference to the Ornaments Rubric. On 16th November he writes again to the same correspondent: "As to ceremonies and maskings, there is a little too much foolery. That little silver cross of ill-omened origin [*male nata, male auspicata*] still maintains its place in the Queen's Chapel. Wretched me! this thing will be made a precedent." See *Zurich Letters* under date.

<sup>1</sup> Jewel seems to hint at a clique who have got the Queen's ear: "Sed jam, quantum video, conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri nimisque mystice. Et quo tandem res nostrae casurae sint Deus viderit. Ἰπποὶ βραδύποδες morantur currum. Caecilius nostrae causae impense favet." Does not this seem as if the Queen were being egged on by some of the Court or Council, whilst Cecil was striving to prevent such action?

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the crucifix, but as well the rood-images which were being or had been generally destroyed. "Some of us," says Sandys, "thought far otherwise, and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last visitation not only taken down, but also burnt, and that too by public authority." The conference took place apparently in private, and is thus announced by Sandys: "God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, gave us tranquillity instead of a tempest, and delivered the Church of England from stumbling-blocks of this kind." Sandys in the same letter bears witness to the displeasure which he had incurred in the matter with the Queen before the conference took place, and it is highly probable that Elizabeth only gave way because the bishops were firm.<sup>1</sup> I would venture to ascribe to her somewhat natural irritation on this occasion the caprice in regard to the question of uniformity which she began to display as time went on.

<sup>1</sup> Jewel's letter in the *Zurich Letters*, i. 67; Sandys, *ibid.* 73.

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A compromise  
is effected.

But whilst she gave way on the crucifix and the rood-images, a compromise apparently was effected as regards vestments. Sandys says in the next sentence to the words just quoted: "Only the popish vestments remain in our church, I mean the copes<sup>1</sup>; which, however, we hope will not last very long." The statement is the key to the vestment question for the next year or two. It shows how copes were to be enforced, and it also shows that Cox and his party hoped to get rid of them before long. With this supposed compromise I connect a document which has wandered about in the pages of historians seeking its proper place. This document is the "Interpretations and further Considerations." It was issued apparently by the bishops at this time as an

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 74. The phrase follows immediately the previous sentence ending "stumbling-blocks of this kind." When it is remembered (cf. p. 143) that copes had in many cases been destroyed or sold (cf. p. 148) during the visitation of 1559, it is almost impossible to explain this allusion otherwise. They had been specially prohibited in St. Paul's Cathedral by the visitors in August 1559.

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appendix to the "Injunctions," and it prescribes amongst other things, "that there be used only but one apparel as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the surplice in all other ministrations."<sup>1</sup> We have sufficient evidence to prove that this compromise was observed to some extent, and perhaps for some few years after 1560,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two copies of the paper exist: one in the Parker MSS., another in the Inner Temple MSS. Strype has collated them (*Annals*, i. cap. 17). Criticism has been brought to bear upon the document. It has been discredited on the ground that there is no sufficient evidence of its influence. At all events, it fits in well with the statement about copes in Sandys' letter. Its influence upon the *Advertisements* is manifold. I presume that the paper was drawn up by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. They had met from time to time since November 1559. Had we a full record of their proceedings we might very probably find an account of a conference in which the bishops drew up this paper. It would be made known to the clergy at the visitations of archdeacons mentioned in it. I do not think that I can trace mention of its purchase in any of the churchwardens' accounts. Let it be said here that archdeacons' visitations were constantly made from time to time. See the mention of some of them in *Church Furniture*. Very few of the archdeacons' returns have as yet been printed. There is a large mass of material in existence, e.g. at St. Paul's Cathedral, and probably some account of their action at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign might be sifted out.

<sup>2</sup> See what is said below as to the gravamen against copes (no mention is made of chasuble or tunicle or alb) signed by thirty-three members in the Convocation of 1563 (below, p. 161). A proposition concerning the abolition of vestments generally had been set down for debate. The actual resolution brought up was "that the

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but there is no proof that the bishops took any pains to enforce it. In point of fact the clergy did very much as they pleased, and some of

use of copes and surplices may be taken away" (*Annals*, i. 298). Surely this specification of copes would be meaningless if they were not worn, at all events by some, according to the Interpretations. But there is fuller proof. At St. Mary Woolnoth in 1559, "copes, vestments, and ornaments" were sold with the consent of the parishioners for the reparation of the church. Next year (the year, as I take it, of the Interpretations) the churchwardens purchased "a cope of blue velvet and gold." The Lincolnshire visitation of 1566 took place before the *Advertisements* were published in that year. We find from it that many copes had been destroyed before March 1566, but it was the one article which was specially noted as remaining still in many churches. Nothing is, as a rule, said about its use. In one place we get the entry: "Item, a cope with all the other things according to the Injunctions remaineth in our said parish church" (*Church Furniture*, p. 114). I have noted twenty-eight parishes in the diocese of Lincoln in this imperfect return of 1566 where the cope is specified as remaining: *ibid.* pp. 42, 47, 48, 49, 52, 57, 75, 77, 81, 92, 106, 114, 115, 117, 124, 125, 130, 137, 141, 145, 148, 149, 151, 154 *bis*, 159, 165, 167. In one of the very few early Ecclesiastical Commission cases that have survived, one Shaxton, who objects to the surplice about 1564 or 1565, says: "In many places of England the massing surplices and copes have been and are used unto this day" (Stow MS. 156 f. (7), 5 dors). There is no proof, however, of very wide use of the cope. When the *Advertisements* were published in 1566 many expostulations were printed. Thus Crowley in his *Brief Discourse* (for its circumstances consult Dixon, vi. 116) says, "You reject the vestment and retain the cope, you reject the alb and retain the surplice, you reject the stole and retain the tippet, you reject the shaven crown and retain the square cap" (p. 29). "If a surplice may be worn, why not an alb? If a cope, why not a vestment, stole, fanel, and chasuble?" (p. 84). See further, p. 168.

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the bishops whom Parker calls "Germanical natures" connived at the neglect of copes.

In this review we have reached the year 1560, and I now propose to indicate very briefly what took place in the next years in regard to vestments. At the outset we must notice that there was mixed up with the question of vestments in church, the additional grievance of a prescribed clerical dress out of doors. The 30th Injunction enforced "such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of Edward VI." Confusion has been introduced by failing to notice that out-of-church attire is here regulated.<sup>1</sup> This garb

Sequel to the vestments.

<sup>1</sup> It has been maintained, I believe, by some that the "habits" refer to the "surplice only" of "the latter year of the reign of Edward the VI." That the 30th Injunction refers solely to the outdoor dress of the clergy is, I think, the natural interpretation of the words, and is made manifest in the *Advertisements*. I admit that Parker, in one set of Visitation Articles, speaks of the surplice as enjoined by the Injunctions. Parker seems to have made a slip here. At all events, there is no other clear instance in the Bishops' Visitation Articles in which the surplice is directed on the authority of the Injunctions. Moreover, Lever, writing in

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became a difficulty of conscience with a good many clergymen, more particularly in London. It led to much searching of heart, and produced in a few years time a considerable controversial literature. The story is fully told by Canon Dixon in the concluding volume of his *Church History*, to which my readers may be referred.<sup>1</sup>

Attempt to  
get rid of the  
cope, etc., in  
Convocation.

Smouldering discontent with the whole matter of ecclesiastical apparel, whether worn inside the church or outside, was fanned into a flame in 1563. In that year the great Convocation was held which revised and published the *Articles of Religion*. The articles were not the only question debated. This famous Convocation witnessed a deliberate attempt to reconsider the whole subject of ritual. A variety of

1560, says : "In Injunctionibus a Regina editis post parliamentum praescribuntur ministris ecclesiasticis ornatus aliqui quales sacrificuli olim habuerunt et adhuc habent." Would he have included the surplice under that condemnation at that time? The objection to the surplice was later. Lever objects to an outdoor dress like that of the Romanensian clergy.

<sup>1</sup> See Dixon, *Church History*, vi. 116.



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proposals were made which bear witness to the divergence of opinion which was now manifesting itself in regard to church services and church order generally. There was an extreme wing of thirty-three in the Lower House who desired that not only the copes of the compromise, but also the surplice of the book of 1552, should be done away. They were no less urgent that the cap and gown of the Injunctions should not be compulsory.<sup>1</sup> Sampson was one of the thirty-three; and if we could only discover a diary of his doings at this period, we should have the key to the rapid growth of Puritanism which now began.<sup>2</sup>

A less extreme faction introduced a gravamen which was actually debated, put into shape, and very nearly accepted in the Lower

A more moderate faction.

<sup>1</sup> See the words quoted above, p. 159. Read Canon Dixon's excellent account of the proceedings of this Convocation (*Church History*, v. 382).

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to read the letters and notices of such men as Sampson, Humphrey, and Lever without concluding that they and their friends were engaged in a diligent propagandism in order to spread their views.

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House. Most festivals were to be abrogated; the minister was to face the people; the cross in baptism was to be omitted; kneeling at communion should be at the discretion of the ordinary; organs were to be removed; and finally, it was to be sufficient to use a surplice "in time of saying divine service and ministering the sacraments." These articles, let it be remembered, were within an ace<sup>1</sup> of being approved by the Lower House, and this fact proves very clearly how much had been done by the "Germanical natures" in the last two or three years to influence the opinion of representative clergymen. It can scarcely be doubted that they had prepared themselves with great deliberation for this supreme effort in Convocation.

<sup>1</sup> See Strype's account of this great crisis (*Annals*, i. 299). The narrow escape of the surplice has not been sufficiently emphasised by modern historians of the period (cf. *Annals*, i. 283). The divided counsels of this Convocation appear to have been marked by the Romanensians. Dorman, writing next year, says: "What should I remember your own good agreement at home, which your last assembly in your Convocation hath made to all the realm so manifest and well known?" (*Proof*, p. 121). He is speaking, of course, with extreme sarcasm, and goes on to assert that their boasted unanimity amounted to divergence at all points.

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In the issue, the compromise of 1560 was left intact, but a number of discontented men returned from that Convocation to bide their time, and meanwhile to propagate their opinions on ritual matters in the hope of a more favourable opportunity. It is probable that no compulsion was used to enforce the wearing of copes at this time.<sup>1</sup> Parker requires the surplice in his visitation of 1563, but says nothing about the cope. It is apparently true that for the most part the clergy were suffered to do as they pleased. To what variety of use this *laissez faire* led is well known.

The compromise of 1560 is left.

The indignation of the Queen at such a condition of affairs led her to write to the bishops a peremptory letter at the end of January 1565.<sup>2</sup> She professed her determination that the prelates should restore

Irregularities in vestments, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See above, note, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> The letter, dated 25th January 1564, is printed in full in Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 223. The tone of Elizabeth is very different from that adopted by her in 1559 and 1560, so far as we can catch the latter from quotation and allusion. She has become very masterful in the meantime.

uniformity. "Cause it to be understood," she said, "what novelties and diversities there are in every place among the clergy or people. Proceed by order, injunction, or censure, as the cases shall require, according to the laws provided by Act of Parliament." Returns were apparently made by the bishops to Cecil. We have what appears to be the summary of Grindal for his diocese of London. This has been often quoted. "Some say the service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some say the same in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep precisely to the order of the book, others intermeddle psalms in metre; some say in a surplice, others without a surplice; the Table standeth in the body of the church in some places, in others it standeth in the chancel; in some places the Table standeth altarwise, distant from the wall a yard, in some others in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in

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some places the Table is joined, in others it standeth upon trestles ; in some places the Table hath a carpet, in others it hath not ; administration of the Communion is done by some with surplice and cap, some with surplice alone, others with none ; some with chalice, some with a communion cup, others with a common cup ; some with unleavened bread, some with leavened ; some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting ; some baptize in a font, others in a basin ; some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not ; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, under the Queen’s direction, began those negotiations which in 1566, after long delays and wearisome postponement, resulted

Issue of the  
Advertise-  
ments.

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Lansdowne MSS. 8, f. 16. It is among the Burghley Papers. The document is headed “Varieties in Service and the Administration used.” It is endorsed 14th Feb. 1564 [*i.e.* 1565]. Reference to Parker’s *Correspondence*, p. 228, shows that Grindal and others were directed to return “what varieties be used either in doctrine, or in ceremonies and rites of the church,” etc. The paper may be in Grindal’s handwriting, and describes the varieties in his own diocese, it may be presumed.

in the issue of the Advertisements.<sup>1</sup> Parker was urged forward to publish them, but the Queen withheld the sanction and support which she had promised. All the odium and all the opposition were to fall upon the bishops.<sup>2</sup> In this way, as I believe, the capricious sovereign visited upon the prelates the displeasure that they had aroused six years before by that firm attitude which led to the compromise of 1560.

There were many enactments in the Advertisements: some for doctrine and preaching, some for administration of prayer and sacraments, some for certain orders in ecclesiastical policy, and some for outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical. For our immediate purpose we note only those which concerned ecclesiastical garb within the church. It was ordained that the general vestment for all clergymen in all ministrations in the church should be the surplice.

<sup>1</sup> The story has been traced out anew with great care by Canon Dixon, *Church History*, vi. cap. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See Dixon's remarks, *ibid.*

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It was likewise enjoined that in the ministration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches the principal minister shall use a cope, with gospeller and epistoler agreeably.<sup>1</sup> The order constitutes a concession.<sup>2</sup> The compromise of 1560 had not

<sup>1</sup> See selections from the Advertisements below, p. 271. I cannot see how the Advertisements were a taking of further order within the meaning of the Act of Uniformity. That further order was represented by the policy of the Injunctions (see p. 136, and Parker, *Correspondence*, pp. 375, 376). I do not think that there is any reference in 1565 or 1566 to a conscious connexion of the Advertisements with the proviso of 1559. Such conscious connexion, however, does exist with the letter of 1561 about Scripture Lessons and Church Chancels (cf. p. 173). It is expressly affirmed in the letter of 1561. This is borne out, too, by the fact that in the churchwardens' accounts there is nearly always an entry of the purchase of what is often called "the book of the order of the church," e.g. at Ashburton; or "new order of service-book," e.g. St. Michael's, Cornhill. I cannot trace the purchase of the Advertisements in any churchwardens' accounts that I have seen. They are once or twice mentioned in bishops' visitations, but not often. An examination of Cathedral Chapter Acts might furnish details as to cathedrals. I do not discuss the question of the authority of the Advertisements: that is done by Canon Dixon.

<sup>2</sup> It is usual to say that the Advertisements prescribed a minimum of ritual. It is better to describe them as a concession. They were the final effort of the policy of the Ornaments Rubric. They recognise that it is impossible now to get the cope worn generally at the celebration of Holy Communion. They are, therefore, a concession to the spirit of the time. Ornaments Rubric, Interpretations, Advertisements are three steps in a descending scale.

been pressed, and the cope at the communion had been used or not as men pleased. But now the difficulty was to get many of the clergy to wear any distinctive vestment at all. It was useless to make the ordinance of the Interpretations obligatory. Parker would be glad enough if he could get this minimum observed. From this time forward we hear no more of the cope in parish churches, and it may be doubted whether it was much enforced in cathedral and collegiate churches.<sup>1</sup>

Fate of  
chasuble and  
alb.

In this way the cope lived on through the early years of Elizabeth to some extent. The chasuble and alb were no less certainly lawful by the Ornaments Rubric of 1559, although they were not the subject of special regulation as was the cope. It has already

<sup>1</sup> The outward apparel was minutely specified. See below, p. 272. The Order, so much more detailed than Interpretations or Injunctions (cf. p. 159), gave the greatest umbrage to the school of Sampson and Humphrey. The contest which ensued was bitter in the extreme, and led to secession. The weary story has been sketched in considerable detail by Canon Dixon, and to his account the reader is referred (*Church History*, vi.).



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been noticed that mention of the chasuble or vestment in the Injunctions along with the cope must have raised a presumption against their legality in 1559, which was strengthened by some destruction of copes and chasubles in that year. From this condemnation the cope was excepted by specific enactment, as we have seen. No such respite was given to chasuble or to alb. Both alike survived again and again in inventories and lists, but this is no proof of their use, for they appear side by side with old service-books and other articles admittedly unlawful. The explicit mention of sale and destruction in many cases, and the absence of any saving rule, seem to warrant the conclusion that whilst these vestments remained on in certain vestries, they were practically condemned from the first. We possess the record of sale or destruction or gift from 1559 onwards. Sometimes they were sold by consent of the parishioners. The Lincoln churchwardens give us some

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particulars of what was done with them. The chasuble was given to the poor, made into a covering for the pulpit, or into cushions, or players' coats, or doublets. Sometimes it was burnt or defaced. In one place it became the cover of the communion table. In another it was "sold to set forward soldiers on their way."<sup>1</sup> The alb shared the same fate. It was made into a surplice, into a communion table cover, into a rochet for the clerk, into a covering for the font.<sup>2</sup> All these instances taken from the Lincoln return were prior to 1566.

<sup>1</sup> For instances of survival, see *Church Furniture*, pp. 77, 90, 92, 112, 113, 133, 165. It was sold at St. Martin's, Leicester, 1561; St. Michael's, Cornhill, 1562; St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, 1561-63. It is found in an inventory of St. Thomas', Bristol, 1565; also at Tavistock, 1562; St. Michael's, Worcester, 1561; and at Melton Mowbray in 1562 and 1565.

<sup>2</sup> The alb remains in a few places only. Cf. *Church Furniture*, pp. 133, 145.

## CHAPTER IV

### SOME FURTHER DETAILS ABOUT CHURCH GOODS

WE may now go back again towards the year 1560, from which point we have followed the working of the rival policies concerning ornaments. Our attention has up to the present been fixed chiefly on vestments, and we must turn to notice more in detail what was done in regard to some other church goods which are included under the general name of ornaments. But before doing so mention may first be made of one or two slight changes made in the Prayer-Book. Thus in 1561 a new calendar was published. It was sold as a separate book, and we can trace it in the churchwardens' accounts,

Further changes in the Prayer-Book are first noted.

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where the entry of its purchase usually occurs in 1561 or 1562. Bishops, and perhaps archdeacons, made it necessary to buy it at their visitations. The Uniformity Act of 1559 had specified the "addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year."<sup>1</sup> This addition appears in the printed copies of the book of Common Prayer in 1559, and consisted of specified proper lessons for all Sundays and some holy-days. We have lost the key to the events which produced further change two years later in the order of lessons.<sup>2</sup> All we know is that exception was taken, by persons unknown, to the scheme of 1559, and that the commissioners were directed "to peruse

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> The fact previously noted may be here repeated, that the early proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have been lost. A few notes have been preserved in the State Papers, but nothing consecutive until about 1570. The consequence is that we come upon the effect of orders without a record of the orders themselves, or of what led to them. A good instance occurs below in regard to rood-lofts, where the order has now come to light. See what was said above (p. 157) about the Interpretations, where all trace of the conference that produced them has disappeared.

the order of the said lessons throughout the whole year, and to cause some new kalendars to be imprinted, whereby such chapters or parcels of less edification may be removed, and other more profitable may supply their rooms." In point of fact the changes made in 1561<sup>1</sup> were few in number, so far as the lessons went.

It may also be noted here that Parker drew up the table of kindred and affinity in 1563. Orders were also given at visitations to purchase this, and to set it up.<sup>2</sup> It was only subsequently printed for convenience sake in the Prayer-Book itself, and does not, of course, form an integral part of the book any more than do the Articles of Religion.

The table of kindred and affinity was later.

The same letter which directed the formation of the calendar called attention to the decay of churches, and the unseemly keeping and disorder of chancels. Now the

The letter of 1561 about chancels.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Procter and Frere, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> We find its purchase entered, *e.g.* at Leverton, Lincolnshire, in 1565: "Injunctions concerning marriage at bishop's visitation, 4s."; at Stanford in 1569, "table of kindred."

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first rubric before morning and evening prayer enjoined that chancels should remain as they had done in time past.<sup>1</sup> The same order was printed in the book of 1552; but as in this last year of Edward, so now in the first year of Elizabeth, the action of visitors was a strange commentary on this rubric. In 1559 the visitors' directions, if carried out, must have changed the whole aspect of the chancels. Shrines, pictures, and pixes were demolished or defaced, to say nothing of glass windows representing "feigned miracles," etc.<sup>2</sup> At the junction of chancel and nave or body of the church, the rood itself surmounting the loft was in many

<sup>1</sup> This rubric differed from that of 1552: (1) 1559.—"The morning and evening prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary of the place, and the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past." (2) 1552.—"The morning and evening prayer shall be used in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the minister shall so turn him as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past."

<sup>2</sup> See the relevant Injunctions and Articles of Inquiry, pp. 260 and 267.

cases plucked down forthwith, and sometimes the rood-loft went too,<sup>1</sup> whilst the images of Mary and John, on either side of the rood, were specially singled out for defacement.<sup>2</sup>

But the great change, the momentous change, in the chancels was the demolition of the stone altar. Under Edward the altar had been pulled down,<sup>3</sup> and a Holy Table of wood had been erected in its place. Under Mary the stone altar had been set up again in most

The demolition of stone altars.

<sup>1</sup> See the detailed instance at Grantham, above, p. 147. From the Lincolnshire return it is apparent that fully one-third of all the roods were plucked down in 1559, and the rest fell by degrees until 1566, when the visitors probably cleared the remainder away. Seven rood-lofts were destroyed in 1559, and the rest disappeared by degrees after the order of 1561. Further details are given below, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> They came, of course, under the heading of images. They were sometimes painted and sometimes in relief. They were more widely destroyed in 1559 than, perhaps, any other devoted object.

<sup>3</sup> For the details, which, however, are imperfect, see Dixon, *Church History*, iii. 200. The entry of demolition and of the new table is usually found in the churchwardens' accounts of 1551. The latter is sometimes called the Ministering Table, e.g. N. Elmham. At Ludlow we find: "Taking down altars. Five boards to serve the table for the Communion. Making the same." At Wing, Bucks: "Taking down the altars and mending the wall, 4s. 2d. Making the table, 4d."

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churches, though the shortness of the reign did not perhaps permit the complete execution of this work of restoration throughout the land.<sup>1</sup> In the first year of Elizabeth the visitors destroyed the altars at the churches where they attended, and apparently gave directions for universal demolition of altars to churchwardens and incumbents.<sup>2</sup> But, as was hinted in an earlier page, this destruction was carried out by degrees only. The authority for it was the ambiguous declaration at the end of the Injunctions. It became the task of bishop and archdeacon at further visitations in the following years

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to think that the restoration of the stone altar was regarded as the most important reparation, and was practically universal. Even where we get the entry in regard to certain articles, "We had none since the death of King Edward," the altar is not so specified.

<sup>2</sup> In the Lincolnshire return of 150 parishes there is very frequently no mention at all of the altar. Of those returned under years, which I make out to be 49 in number, we get 15 in 1559, 8 in 1560, 5 in 1561, 2 in 1562, 6 in 1563, 2 in 1564, 5 in 1565, 6 in 1566. The last two years were in those parts, and perhaps generally, years of severe inquisition. Besides these, which are referred to particular years, 59 are returned as destroyed, but with no date—yet between 1559 and 1566, in which latter year the return was made.



to oust the Altar, and to see the Holy Table erected in its stead.<sup>1</sup>

As for the Holy Table, it was placed where the old altar stood.<sup>2</sup> No design for its shape and pattern was prescribed, and such details were left to the churchwardens, with the varying results already described.<sup>3</sup> It was to be "commonly covered as thereto belongs," said the injunction, and in subsequent episcopal orders this was made explicit in the following words, "silk, buckram, or other

Details as to  
the Holy  
Table.

<sup>1</sup> Thus we get the following visitation inquiry by Parkhurst in 1561: "Whether they have a fit and decent table to minister the Communion on" (2nd Ritual Report, p. 402); and by Grindal in 1571: "Whether in your churches and chapels all altars be utterly taken down and clean removed even unto the foundation" (*ibid.* p. 407). The entry for the demolition of altar and erection of Holy Table is pretty constant through the Elizabethan churchwardens' accounts. The amounts varied. Instances may be interesting. Bishop's Stortford: "Taking down high altar stone, 1s. 11d. Bearing away brick and earth of the altars, 8d. For making the frame to the table, 16d." Cratfield: "For pulling down the altar, 8d. For a communion table, 4s. 2d." The old altar stones were put to various uses. They were used as paving-stones, as hearth-stones, as grave-stones, as stepping-stones, as "bridges for sheep," troughs, stairs, sinks, fences, and so forth. As a rule they were broken or defaced. If still unbroken they were to be destroyed. Cf. *Church Furniture*, 46 and 149.

<sup>2</sup> This was the direction of the Injunctions (cf. p. 265).

<sup>3</sup> See the return above, p. 165.

such-like"; whilst the Advertisements enjoined "carpet, silk, or other decent covering."<sup>1</sup> But the place and covering just indicated were an out-of-service order. At the time of celebration of the Holy Communion it was covered, according to rubric and advertisement, "with a fair linen cloth," and was moved down into the chancel according to the injunction, "so placed in good sort within the chancel as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister." But apparently this somewhat obscure direction caused difficulty in small churches, and the "Interpretations" next year allowed the Holy Table "to be removed out of the choir into the body of the church before the chancel door [which I take to be the opening in the rood-screen], where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great

<sup>1</sup> For the fate of the old altar-cloths, see above, p. 143.

feasts of receivings," *i.e.* at the greater Christian festivals.<sup>1</sup>

The posture of the communicants was defined by the rubric to be kneeling, without further explanation. The Injunctions give no rule. There arose diversity of practice, and it cannot apparently be doubted that in certain places the communicants even sat round the Holy Table, or, at all events, before it.<sup>2</sup> This use, however, was only the vagary of some, for whilst others preferred to stand for reception, the Advertisements confirm the rule of the rubric ; but the number of those who refused to kneel probably increased with the spread of Puritanism, and I have not noticed that the bishops made

The posture  
of communi-  
cants.

<sup>1</sup> This direction is another point in favour of the authenticity of the Interpretations. So many churches would be obviously too small for the proper observance of the injunction, that some such order would become imperative. See a further proof in the passage quoted from Dorman below, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> There is an entry for the purchase of forms in Edward's reign at St. Michael's, Worcester : "Two forms for the communion to be received at." At Yatton, Somerset, "table and forms for communion" are noted in 1559. On the other hand, at Ludlow there is in 1560 the purchase of a plank to kneel on at the communion.

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any special inquiry on the subject at their visitations.

The position  
of the  
minister.

The position of the minister at the communion was defined by the notorious words "at the north side." What this meant depended entirely on the position of the Holy Table. Consequently the evidence is conflicting. If it stood north and south in the chancel, the celebrant would take up his position, as the rubric intended, literally on the north side. If it stood east and west in chancel or in nave, a divergence of use resulted. The petition of Convocation in 1563 proves clearly that some of the clergy were accused of turning their backs upon the people.<sup>1</sup> In 1564 a certain clergyman called Kechyn turned his face to the east in the prayers, and was roundly abused for it.<sup>2</sup> But it is certain that, as time went on, many of

<sup>1</sup> This objection, however, may have been aimed at the position taken by the clergyman in saying the prayers at matins and evensong. Yet it appears to me more probable that the objectors meant the "eastward position" in the communion service; and see the extract from Fulke, p. 181. Note the changed rubric, p. 174, note.

<sup>2</sup> The story is told in Strype's *Parker*, p. 153.

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the clergy felt very strongly on the question of the celebrant's attitude ; for in 1579 Fulke, an important controversial writer, deals with the question, and evidently represents the feelings of others. He says : " He [*i.e.* Heskins, his opponent] will know of us wherefore we appoint the priest to stand on the north side. Verily, even for the same reason that the primitive church did choose to pray toward the east, namely, to avoid the superstition of the Jews that prayed toward the west, as we do to avoid the superstition of the papists that use to pray toward the east. Otherwise all quarters of heaven of their own nature are indifferent for us to turn ourselves unto in our prayers either public or private."<sup>1</sup> But still there was variety, as a sentence from Dorman's *Proof* seems to hint when he compares the minister to the weathercock on the steeple, "turning one while toward south and another while to the north."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Fulke against Heskins, etc.*, p. 720.

<sup>2</sup> The full passage is as follows :—" This day your communion table placed in the midst of the choir, the next day removed into

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Paten and  
chalice.

No direction was given by the Injunctions as to paten or chalice. There is rare mention of the paten. The chalice is sometimes noted as remaining in a church, and in one place in Lincolnshire the chalice was said to be in use as a communion cup in 1566.<sup>1</sup> What took place as a rule is seen

the body of the church [another proof of the "Interpretations," see above, p. 156], at the third time placed in the chancel after the manner of an altar, but yet removable as there is any communion to be had. Then your minister's face one while to be turned towards the south, another while towards the north, that the weathercock on the top of the steeple hath been noted not to have turned so often in the space of one quarter of the year as your minister hath been caused beneath in the bottom of the church in less than one month, as though you could not sufficiently declare how restless an evil heresy is, except you must make your communion table to roam about the church, the minister first after it, and then round about it to express the same" (*Proof*, p. 120).

<sup>1</sup> The chalice, as a rule, escaped during the first six years of Elizabeth. Instances to the contrary are as follows. From the printed churchwardens' accounts we find that it was sold in 1559 at St. Mary Woolnoth, at Smarden, at St. Matthew's, City. In the case of St. Mary Woolnoth a cup was substituted. In 1560 the chalice was sold at Bishop's Stortford, at Yatton, at St. Peter's, Cheapside. Similar cases are found in the following years. It survives at Christ Church, Bristol, in 1565. From this point we trace the exchange for a cup enforced. In the Lincolnshire return only one or two mentions of its disappearance prior to 1566 are noted, and in a few churches the survival in that year is entered. Then we begin to get instances of sale, and the purchase of a new cup. Presently it is a subject of inquiry at visitations, e.g.

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in the bishops' visitation articles, where direction is given to change the chalice for a communion cup.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes it is specified that the cup should have a cover, which may serve as a paten.<sup>2</sup> The old chalices were changed for the large Elizabethan communion cups, and it must be conceded that care was taken that these should be massive and dignified.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes we find an entry of the sale of the chalice, indeed, without a

Grindal, 1571: "Whether your parson, vicar, curate, or minister do . . . minister the Holy Communion in any chalice heretofore used at Mass, or in any profane cup or glass," etc. The fate of the chalice is noteworthy. It had seldom been sold or destroyed under Edward, and in his last year was usually left in the church by the commissioners. Fulke defends the use of a common cup for communion in 1579 (p. 781).

<sup>1</sup> It may be presumed that these orders were based on some lost direction of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which may, perhaps, some day be recovered, as in the case of the Rood Loft Letter (cf. p. 185).

<sup>2</sup> Thus Grindal inquires in 1571: "Whether you have . . . a fair and comely communion cup of silver, and a cover of silver for the same, which may serve also for the ministration of the communion bread."

<sup>3</sup> At St. Mary Woolnoth two chalices parcel gilt were sold for £6:2s., and another gilt for £6. The cup cost £6:3:4. At Brockdish the new cup cost 5s. 4d., "besides 6s. 2d. worth of silver more than the old chalice weighed." At St. Matthew's, City, the new cup cost thirteen guineas, whilst the chalice and a copper cross sold for £2:9:2.

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corresponding item of purchase, but as a rule the new cup cost quite as much as the sale of the chalice brought in. Probably the cover was added in certain cases.<sup>1</sup> From about 1567 chalices were constantly the subject of inquiry; and this seems to prove that they were known to be in use in some places, and that there was a growing determination to regard them as illegal.<sup>2</sup>

The fate of  
rood-lofts.

All the alterations denoted so far in this chapter were the result of the Injunctions-policy as interpreted first by the visitors and then by bishops and archdeacons in their visitations, and sometimes by individual caprice. Another change was carried out, at first without authority, and then received authoritative regulation. We have seen how the rood and rood-images were destroyed by the visitors.<sup>3</sup> The visitors appear to have

<sup>1</sup> At Bishop's Stortford a silver communion cup cost £3 : 4s. in 1562, and in 1567 a cover was added for 19s.

<sup>2</sup> See the inquiry of Grindal in 1571, quoted above, p. 183. All these visitation articles are printed in the Second Ritual Commission Report.

<sup>3</sup> One at least of the visitors of 1559 regarded the carrying out



demolished the rood-loft as well in some cases; indeed, the loft was broken down in not a few instances in the first year.<sup>1</sup> Such action in regard to the lofts had not been contemplated, but it is one more proof of the assumption that the policy of Edward's last year was to be followed. In 1561, therefore, the year already remarkable for restraining

The direction  
of 1561:

of this policy with great complacency. The following is an extract from a visitation sermon of Sandys, who visited the northern province. It was preached at York, and no date is given. Speaking of Elizabeth, he says: "She hath caused the vessels that were made for Baal and for the host of heaven to be defaced; she hath broken down the lofts that were builded for idolatry; she hath turned out the priests that burnt incense unto false gods; she hath overthrown all polluted and defiled altars; she hath abolished darkness and caused the eternal truth gloriously to shine as we see it doth in England at this day."—*Sermons of Archbishop Sandys*, No. xiii. (Parker Society).

<sup>1</sup> As at Grantham, Barham, Birton, Gayton, Corringham, etc. See above, p. 145, note. The churchwardens' accounts assign demolition or sale to the year 1559 at St. Michael's, Cornhill; Ludlow; Yatton; St. Peter's, Cheapside; St. Matthew's, City; to 1560 at St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Mary Woolchurch Haw, Bishop's Stortford, Thame, N. Elmham, Smarden, Melton Mowbray. Taking down the rood was often a separate act; e.g. at Wing the rood came down in 1559, and the rood-loft in 1562, and so too at St. Petrock's, Exeter. In some places the loft had been pulled down under Edward and never put up again. The wood so gained was put to various uses: the following I have seen specified in the returns—bridge-making, communion table, seats in church, tester of a bed, ceiling of a hall. Generally, they are said to have been sold, without further particular.

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injunctions concerning chancels, a general direction was given by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in regard to the lofts.<sup>1</sup> The document appears to have escaped the notice which it deserves. It begins by speaking of the "much strife and contention that have heretofore arisen among the Queen's subjects"<sup>2</sup> on the matter in debate. It then directs that if the lofts have not been "transposed" they "shall be so altered that the

(1) Transposition.

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the letter see p. 273. This regulation is readily traced. The bishops' visitation articles quote it almost word for word, e.g. Parker in 1563: "Whether the rood-loft be pulled down, according to the order prescribed, and if the partition between the chancel and the church be kept. Whether the font be standing and kept decently in the place used." At St. Laurence's, Reading, we read: "Paid for bringing the orders made by the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners as concerning the alterations of rood-loft for his fee, 8d." At Melton Mowbray in 1566 there is a fine of 4s. 4d. because the rood-loft is not taken down. In one very interesting return, brought to my notice by Canon Dixon, it is said that in Sussex the rood-lofts were still standing in some places in 1569. That was the year of the Northern Rebellion, and it was also said that the timber of the loft was then lying in some churches ready to be set up again (S. P. Dom. Eliz. lx. 71). The particulars are well worth reading, as they probably show how rules and orders were evaded in certain places. See them given in Dixon, *Church History*, vi. 201, 202.

<sup>2</sup> This hint of strife and dispute is important. Everywhere there was a discontented proportion of the people who spoke as loudly as they dared.

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upper part of the same with the sollar<sup>1</sup> be quite taken down unto the upper parts of the vaults and beam running in length over the said vaults by putting some convenient crest upon the said beam towards the church." The effect of this injunction would be to produce what we now know as a chancel screen with a crest or ornament on the top.

Permission was also given to build the whole screen over again if the parish agreed, and to set it up in joiners' work, provided it were done to the height of the old cross-beam. (2) Rebuilding.

But where the demolition had already taken place, it was directed that, "provided there remain a comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church, that no alteration be otherwise attempted in them, but be suffered in quiet. And where no partition is standing there one to be appointed." To this order of the commissioners we owe, no

<sup>1</sup> "Sollar" is a word meaning the loft itself. Crest does not mean hatchment! Thus at St. Petrock's, Exeter, we find the entry of 1550: "For plucking down the side altar and the crest over it."

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doubt, the preservation of many chancel screens in our parish churches.

Church fonts.

The same regulations throw light on the fate of other parts of the church. The removal of fonts had already been prohibited by the bishops in 1560. We may imagine that many of the Puritan clergy took upon themselves to get rid of these, as if they had been polluted by the ancient ceremonial. Under Edward much destruction of fonts took place. Under Elizabeth it would appear that some clergymen or churchwardens reproduced this action, and that the bishops in consequence drew up the restrictive injunction already referred to. In 1561 the letter concerning rood-lofts ordered "that the font be not removed from the accustomed place, and that in parish churches the curates take not upon them to confer baptism in basins, but in the font customably used."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That the direction was not universally obeyed is clear from the return of 1565 quoted above, p. 164.

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The fate of the cross in churches is perplexed by the fact that the word is used as a convertible term for crucifix.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the crucifix, in the strict sense of the word, was considered to be illegal by the injunction concerning images. There can be little doubt that the crucifix and the cross alike were destroyed from the beginning of the reign. It has been seen how the crosses were demolished at St. Paul's in August 1559. This action of the London visitors would certainly be copied elsewhere, as Tunstall feared. According to the Lincolnshire return seventeen crosses were destroyed in 1559, and several in subsequent years until 1565, when a large number shared the same fate. In one place it is noted that the churchwardens have been directed to "make

The cross and crucifix.

<sup>1</sup> The letter of Cassander should be read, which testifies to this confusion (*Zurich Letters*, ii. 42). From one or two allusions in this letter it might almost seem as if the cross were painted over the Communion Table in some English churches, with the Commandments written on either side. Is it possible that the table of Commandments which was set up in churches in 1561 contained a printed figure of the *cross* in the midst?

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away and break before Easter next" the cross, with certain other articles.<sup>1</sup> Only in nine places is it stated in this return that the cross remains in 1566.<sup>2</sup> Cox had already said in 1560: "We are in that state that no crucifix is nowadays to be seen in any of our churches."<sup>3</sup> The cross and crucifix alike are both hard to trace in the churchwardens' accounts. From the nature of the case we should expect only to find entries of purchase or sale. There are a few such instances. The silver cross at Yatton, which cost £18 in 1499, was sold in 1559. There was a sale of the cross at St. Matthew's, City, in 1559; at St. Thomas', Portsmouth, 1564-66. The cross is not often specified in Elizabethan inventories. In 1571 Grindal ordered all crosses to be destroyed in the Northern Province. At St. Thomas', Bristol, a cross survived until 1597.

When the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI.

<sup>1</sup> At Billingsborough (*Church Furniture*, p. 49).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 49, 53, 61, 92, 123 *bis*, 145, 154, 160.

<sup>3</sup> *Zurich Letters*, ii. 42.

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came out, an Act was passed "for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images." It had enacted that "all books called Antiphoners, Missals, Grails, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portasses, Primers in Latin or English, Couchers, Journals, Ordinals, or other books or writings whatsoever heretofore used for service of the Church . . . shall be abolished, extinguished, and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm."<sup>1</sup> The Act was designed to give the *coup de grace* to all the old service-books, which were superseded by the new book. It directed that the service-books should be burnt or otherwise defaced. Under Mary's first Act of repeal this Act was repealed. It was not revived under Elizabeth. Apparently the provisions were observed in some places without such legal re-enactment. The Lincoln return proves that the books were, as a rule, destroyed in 1559.<sup>2</sup> In one place

The old Latin service-books.

<sup>1</sup> The Act is 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> I have noted 48 cases in which the churchwardens of the Lincoln returns assert that the books were destroyed in 1559.

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it is specially stated that "the mass-books and couchers were burnt, spoilt, and defaced at the Queen's Majesty's visitation by Robert Brown and Robert Ibbes, churchwardens at that present time."<sup>1</sup> Some survived and were destroyed in subsequent years, chiefly perhaps at the archdeacons' visitations, and notably in 1565. Grindal made explicit inquiry about the service-books in 1571: "Whether all and every Antiphoners, Mass-books, Grails, Portasses, Processionals, Manuals, Legendaries, and all other books of late belonging to your church or chapel, which served for the superstitious Latin service, be utterly defaced, rent, and abolished." Thus by degrees the Latin service-books perished, leaving few survivors

That search was made for them at subsequent visitations is clear from the case of Wilsford, where it is returned: "Our mass-books and manual, with all such Latin books appertaining to the Popish services, burnt and defaced in the third year of Elizabeth, and in the presence of the parishioners and the apparitors." I trace 6 other cases to the same year (pp. 72, 98, 112, 113, 123, 143). There are 21 instances of destruction in 1565-66.

<sup>1</sup> At Tallington.



to find a resting-place at last in our great libraries and private collections.

The same work of destruction attended a variety of other church goods. Amices, banner-cloths, banner-staves, candlesticks, canopies, censers, corporases, crismatories, cruets, hand-bells, holy-water stocks, maniples, paxes, pixes, sacring-bells, sepulchres, stoles, veils—all these articles are mentioned in the various accounts and returns which have already been cited in evidence. Inquisition had been made for most of them in the last year of King Edward.<sup>1</sup> The visitors of 1559 banned

Other church goods.

<sup>1</sup> The churchwardens' accounts prove that most of the articles just mentioned were being cleared out and sold all through Edward's reign, until we reach the final commission, dated 16th January 1553. The commissioners were directed under this (the fourth Edwardine Commission concerning Church Goods) to see that the previous commissions had been carried out, and to collect all ready money, plate, and jewels certified by their predecessors to be remaining in any churches. They were required to leave one or two chalices, and sufficient linen for the administration of the Holy Communion in each church. The rest of the linen was to be given to the poor, and all other goods were to be sold except great bells and sanctus bells. Edward died in July, and the work of the commissioners was interrupted before its completion. As soon as Mary came to the throne, orders were sent to various counties in which there had been delay in the execution of the commission, and the goods were redelivered to the churches.

them once more. We trace their gradual extinction. The chief destruction took place in the first year of Elizabeth, but in many cases they survived for some years. Grindal made similar inquiry for most of them in the frequently quoted visitation articles of 1571, when he demanded "whether all vestments, albs, tunicles, stoles, phanons, pixes, paxes, hand-bells, sacring-bells, censers, crismatories, crosses, candlesticks, holy-waterstocks, images, and such other relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry be utterly defaced, broken, and destroyed."

## APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS

### I

#### THE DEVICE FOR ALTERATION OF RELIGION, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

[From Cotton MS., Julius, F. 6, f. 161. Printed by Strype.  
See above, pp. 16, 24.]

##### *I. When the alteration shall be first attempted ?*

At the next Parliament: so that the dangers be foreseen, and remedies therefor provided. For the sooner that religion is restored, God is the more glorified, and as we trust will be more merciful unto us, and better save and defend Her Highness from all dangers.

##### *II. What dangers may ensue upon the alteration ?*

i. The Bishop of Rome, all that he may, will be incensed. He will excommunicate the Queen's Highness, interdict the realm, and give it to prey to all princes that will enter upon it; and incite them thereto by all manner of means.

ii. The French king will be encouraged more to the war, and make his people more ready to fight against us, not only as enemies, but as heretics. He will be

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in great hope of aid from hence of them that are discontented with this alteration, looking for tumult and discord. He will also stay concluding peace upon hope of some alteration.

iii. Scotland will have some causes of boldness ; and by that way the French king will seem soonest to attempt to invade us.

iv. Ireland also will be very difficultly stayed in their obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome.

v. Many people of our own will be very much discontented ; especially these sorts :

(1) All such as governed in the late Queen Mary's time, and were chosen thereto for no other cause, or were then most esteemed, for being hot and earnest in the other religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to credit, will think themselves discredited, and all their doings defaced, and study all the ways they can to maintain their former doings, and despise all this alteration.

(2) Bishops and all the clergy will see their own ruin. In confession and preaching, and all other ways they can, they will persuade the people from it. They will conspire with whomsoever that will attempt, and pretend to do God a sacrifice in letting the alteration, though it be with murder of Christian men or treason.

(3) Men which be of the papist sect ; which late were in manner all the judges of the law ; the justices of the peace, chosen out by the late Queen in all the shires ; such as were believed to be of that sect ; and the more earnest therein, the more in estimation. These are like to join and conspire with the bishops and clergy.

(4) Some, when the subsidy shall be granted, and

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money levied (as it appeareth that necessarily it must be done), will be therewith offended ; and like enough to conspire and arise, if they have any head to stir them to it, or hope of gain and spoil.

(5) Many such as would gladly have the alteration from the Church of Rome, when they shall see peradventure that some old ceremonies shall be left still, or that their doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, and all other abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and call the alteration *a cloaked papistry* or *a mingle-mangle*.

### III. *What remedy for these matters ?*

First, for France, to practise a peace ; or if it be offered, not to refuse it. If controversy of religion be there among them, to help to kindle it.

Rome is less to be doubted ; from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil will, cursing, and practising.

Scotland will follow France for peace. But there may be practised to help forward their divisions, and especially to augment the hope of them who incline to good religion. For certainty, to fortify Berwick, and to employ demi-lances and horsemen for the safety of the frontiers. And some expense of money in Ireland.

The fifth divided into five parts.

The first is of them which were of Queen Mary's council, elected and advanced then to authority, only or chiefly for being of the Pope's religion, and earnest in the same. Every augmentation or conservation of such men in authority or reputation is an encouragement of those of their sect, and giveth hope to them, that it

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shall revive and continue, although it have a contrary blast. Seeing their pillars to stand still untouched, [will be] a confirmation to them that are wavering papists, and a discouragement of such that are but half inclined to that alteration. *Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc illuc impellitur.* These must be searched by all law, as far as justice may extend; and the Queen's Majesty's clemency to be extended not before they do fully acknowledge themselves to have fallen in the lapse of the law.

They must be based of authority, discredited in their countries, so long as they seem to repugn to the true religion, or to maintain their old proceedings. And if they should seem to allow or to bear with the new alteration, yet not likely to be in credit, *quia neophyti.* And no man but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish. And when he can, and as he can, those ancient laws and orders he will maintain and defend with whom and in whom he was in estimation, authority, and a doer. For every man naturally loveth that which is his own work and creature. And contrary, as those men must be based, so must Her Highness's old and sure servants, who have tarried with her, and not shrunk in the last storms, be advanced with authority and credit; that the world may see that Her Highness is not unkind nor unmindful. And throughout all England such persons as are known to be sure in religion, every one, according to his ability to serve in the commonwealth, to be set in place. Whom, if in the cause of religion, God's cause, they shall be slack, yet their own safety and state shall cause to be vigilant, careful, and earnest for the conservation of her state, and mainten-

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ance of this alteration. And in all this she shall but do the same that the late Queen Mary did to maintain and establish her religion.

The second of these five is the bishops and clergy, being in manner all made and chosen, such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the Pope's Church, who in the late times [by] taking from the Crown, impoverishing it, by extorting from private men, and all other things possible, *per fas et nefas*, have thought to enrich and advance themselves; these Her Majesty, being inclined to so much clemency, yet must seek as well by Parliament as by the just laws of England, in the *præmunire*, and other such penal laws, to bring again in order. And being found in default, not to pardon till they confess their fault, put themselves wholly to Her Highness's mercy, abjure the Pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alteration. And by this means well handled, Her Majesty's necessity of money may be somewhat relieved.

The third is to be amended even as all the rest above, by such means as Queen Mary taught, that none such, as near as may be, be in commission of peace in the shires, but rather men meaner in substance and younger in years; so that they have discretion to be put in place. A short law made and executed against assemblies of people without authority. Lieutenants made in every shire: one or two men known to be sure at the Queen's devotion. In the meantime musters and captains appointed, viz. young gentlemen which earnestly do favour Her Highness. No office of jurisdiction or authority to be in any discontented man's hand, as far as justice or law may extend.

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The fourth is not to be remedied otherwise than by gentle and dulce handling by the commissioners, and by the readiness and good-will of the lieutenants and captains to repress them, if any should begin a tumult, murmur, or provide any assembly, or stoutness to the contrary.

The fifth for the discontentation of such as could be content to have religion altered, but would have it go too far, the strait laws upon the promulgation of the book, and severe execution of the same at the first, will so repress them, that it is great hope it shall touch but a few. And better it were that they did suffer than Her Highness or commonwealth should shake, or be in danger. And to this they must well take heed that draw the book.

And herein the universities must not be neglected; and the hurt that the late visitation in Queen Mary's time did must be amended. Likewise such colleges where children be instructed to come to the university, as Eton and Winchester: that as well the increase hereafter, as at this present time, be provided for.

### IV. *What shall be the manner of the doing of it?*

This consultation is to be referred to such learned men as be meet to show their minds herein; and to bring a plat or book hereof ready drawn to Her Highness. Which being approved of Her Majesty, may be so put into the Parliament House, to the which for the time it is thought that these are apt men: Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Pilkington.

And Sir Thomas Smith do call them together, and



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to be amongst them. And after the consultation with these, to draw in other men of learning and gravity, and apt men for that purpose and credit to have their assents.

As for that is necessary to be done before, it is thought most necessary that a strait prohibition be made of all innovation, until such time as the book come forth, as well that there should be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common people's estimation; as also to exercise the Queen's Majesty's subjects to obedience.

V. To the fifth, *What may be done of Her Highness for her own conscience openly, before the whole alteration; or, if the alteration must tarry longer, what order be fit to be in the whole realm, as an interim?*

To alter no further than Her Majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion as Her Highness pleaseth on high feasts. And that where there be more chaplains at Mass, that they do always communicate in both kinds. And for Her Highness's conscience till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayers or *memory* said, and the seldomer Mass.

VI. To the sixth, *What noblemen be most fit to be made privy to these proceedings, before it be opened to the whole council?*

The Lord Marquess Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Lord John Grey.

VII. To the seventh, *What allowance those learned men shall have for the time they are about to review the Book of Common Prayer and order of ceremonies, and service in the church, and where they shall meet?*

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Being so many persons which must attend still upon it, two mess of meat is thought yet indifferent to suffice for them and their servants.

The place is thought most meet [to be] in some set place, or rather at Sir Thomas Smith's lodgings in Canon Row. At one of these places must provision be laid in of wood and coals and drink.

### II

#### GOODERICK'S "DIVERS POINTS OF RELIGION"

[For the probable origin and influence of this paper see above, pp. 20, 21. It is here printed from S. P. Dom. Elizabeth, i. 68, where it is endorsed by Cecil — "Gooderick, *Divers Points of Religion contrary to the Church of Rome*." Canon Dixon has printed it in full (*Church History*, v. 28).]

Ipse autem rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo et sub lege, quia lex facit regem. Attribuat ergo rex legi quod lex attribuit ei, viz. dominationem et potestatem. Non est enim rex ubi dominatur voluntas et non lex. Et quod sub lege esse debeat cum sit Dei Vicarius evidenter apparet ad similitudinem Jesu Christi cujus vices gerit in terris, etc. (Bracton, i. 8). Besides, it seemeth both by the Register and by Sir Antony Fitzherbert, one of the best learned of the law in our time, that bishops and abbots which were of the King's foundation (the sees and places destitute and void) were elected and chosen by their chapters and convents by virtue of

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the King's writs of licence called *Breve de Licentia eligendi*, and, after the election made and certified to the King, the King by letters-patent gave his royal assent to the election, and then of course went out a writ *De restitutione temporalium*, and this was of ancient used without suit to the Pope. Excommungement was ever in the law a sufficient exception to the person of the plaintiff or demandant so as he was not answerable: but the defendant for proof of the same is by the law forced to show letters of excommunication from some ordinary of this realm under his seal: for letters or bulls of the Pope to prove an excommunication alleged against the plaintiff were never allowed nor been allowable in any of the King's courts.

Further to prove the Pope's curse was not of value in this realm. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with divers other bishops accompanied, in their Pontificali-bus solemnly assembled, by authority of Peter and Paul and all the Apostles without any mention of the Pope, did pronounce the great sentence of curse against all them which infringe or put off the Great Charter or the Charter of the Forest made and granted by King Henry III.: which excommunication and curse is inserted among the statutes and Acts of Parliament made in the time of the said King Henry III.

It appears also from time to time that as well the King as all the temporal states of the realm were grieved with the continual usurpation of the Pope and his clergy, and for reformation, as they might, they provided remedies ever since that time: as, statutes for alienation to mortmain, præmunire for prevention of benefices, for suits to Rome, or in any spiritual court for matter

determinable in the King's courts by the laws of the realm. And yet in all those times it is to be considered that the spirituality were councillors about the King, and were for the authority and not [lacuna] the Parliament.

If search were had amongst the records of the Exchequer of elder time, and in the Tower, I think there would be found more matter against the said usurpation.

My lord Rich hath, I think, old gatherings of records and other matters for the proof of the papists, for because he was the King's Solicitor at the time the Pope was banished with his authority in the twenty-sixth year of King Henry VIII.

Which matter will be good to stir the nobility and commons to devotion of the liberty of the realm and against the usurpation of the Pope.

Like peril is it, in mine opinion, to touch his authority in part as utterly to abolish it. Therefore it seemeth very necessary well to consider of this matter for his weight, and for the danger that may ensue before it be meddled either by Parliament or otherwise.

Besides many other examples, King John, of this realm sometime king, may be a warning: who for his kicking at his authority and dealing with the state of the clergy, was brought into the peril you know, to the danger of his state, the only cause thereof the mighty and princely state of the clergy, which, albeit it be not so strong as it was then, yet considering the time is more dangerous, and there by time grown more malicious and their glorious state more tickle, and by more experience grown more wiser and wiser: without the bridling it may not in mine opinion be attempted. And before the Parliament nothing against him may be

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attempted, but dissembled withal in the meantime : nor at the Parliament, if it be holden before or in March next, I think his authority not to be touched, nor anything to be attempted there of matters in religion, except the repeal of the Statutes of Henry IV. and V., repealed in the time of King Henry VIII. and revived by Queen Mary, unrepealed : all proceedings by the Bishops *ex officio* shall be thereby taken away, and thereby all quiet persons may live safely. In the meantime Her Majesty and all her subjects may by licence of law use the English Litany and suffrages used in King Henry's time, and besides Her Majesty in her closet may use the Mass without lifting up above the Host according to the ancient Canons, and may also have at every Mass some communicants with the ministers to be used in both kinds.

Her Majesty may also wink at the married priests, so they use their wives secretly, as some of them did in Queen Mary's time, and suffer them : nay, rather authorise the learned and discreet sort of them to preach the Gospel purely without inveighing against any sect except Anabaptists and Arians.

It were good also that certain Homilies in English were published, to be read in every church, treating of most necessary matters of our religion plainly and simply, not meddling with any matter in controversy.

I think it most necessary that, before any pardon published after the old manner at the Coronation, certain of the principal prelates be committed to the Tower, and some other their addicted friends and late counsellors to the Queen that dead is, and all the rest commanded to keep their houses, and that no person

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other than of their household have any access to them, so as there be exception comprehending all such out of the Pardon.

Item. That all the arms, weapons, and horses which they or any of them have, be taken from them by the most trustiest in every county by bill indented to serve the Queen's Majesty as occasion shall be ministered, and likewise for all persons of all sorts.

I would also have at that time [lacuna] the sending to Rome any message or letters, and if [lacuna] be any, I would have letters sent to the Agent there to continue his residence, and to advertise as occasion shall be given without desire of any audience, and if he should be sent for, that he should signify that he understood from hence that there was a great embassy either already dispatched or ready to be dispatched for the affairs: whose dispatch I would should be published with the persons' names, and yet treated so as it should pass the most part of the next summer: and in the meantime to have good consultation what is to be done at home, and do it: and thereafter send. . . .

### III

#### THE DISTRESSES OF THE COMMONWEALTH, WITH THE MEANS TO REMEDY THEM

[From S. P. Dom. Eliz. i. 66. See above, p. 21.]

When our mind wandereth and strayeth uncertainly abroad, and by reason of the variety and confusion of

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things standeth in doubt whereupon first and chiefly to employ her study and cogitation, she can surely judge and define nothing. Therefore, among many and most grievous diseases that our commonweal (alas ! what say I weal, when in manner we have none at all) travaileth with at this day, I have chosen out, and described in the order following, a few of the chiefest that in my poor opinion are most gravely to be thought upon, and speedliest amended. For to amend all, as it is impossible to do it, but with like or longer tract of time than they have crept in. As they are so infinite, there is such a throng of them, as no one man is able to rehearse or comprehend them. I have therefore thought best to fashion my plat in the order following, and to lay before you my device in form of a division. You may use it so if like you take it to be a plain song.

Whereupon, as I do somewhat distant for the mediocrity of my understanding, so I know your wisdom can say so much therein, as more can no man. I do here grossly fashion our commonweal, sick or diseased, the causes whereof, as I have said, be infinite, but the chiefest as I take them be these :

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| The common-<br>weal dis-<br>eased by<br>reason of | { | A. The poverty of the Queen.                 |
|   |   | B. The penury of noblemen and their poverty. |
|   |   | C. The wealth of the meaner sort.            |
|   |   | D. The dearth of things.                     |
|   |   | E. The divisions within the realm.           |
|   |   | F. The wars.                                 |
|   |   | G. Want of justice.                          |

A. Concerning the Queen's poverty, these things be to be considered :

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What her revenues be, certain and casual.

What her expenses be, ordinary and extraordinary.

What her debts be, at home and abroad.

How her debts may be paid.

Her debts being paid, how she may be made rich.

To take away all occasions of unnecessary expenses.

To call in as time will serve, and by such means as may be honourable for Her Highness, and content the parties, all manner of annuities and pensions granted for service by letters-patents.

To bring Her Highness's charges within honourable and reasonable limits.

To call in again by Act of Parliament the first-fruits and tenths and other things of like sort given from the Crown in the reign of the last Queen.

To be circumspect how you consent to the merchants' requests for the remission of the subsidies lately enhanced.

B. The want of { May be supplied by the creation of meet, worthy,  
noblemen { and able men in every shire.

Their poverty may be relieved by some such means as may be devised and thought upon without the charges of Her Highness.

Here would I add (if I durst) that peradventure it were not amiss, as the time and things would suffer, to take from all your Bishops the titles of Lords, their places in the Parliament, remitting them to the House of Convocation, all their temporal lands and stately houses; to give to the archbishops mille per annum in spiritualities out of the shire where they reside. To



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the bishops, 500 marks per annum in spiritualities. And their temporalities to be given to the noblemen having need of the same.

- C. The wealth of the meaner sort { Is the very fount of rebellion, the occasion of their insolence, of the contempt of the nobility, and of the hatred they have conceived against them.

It must be cured by keeping them in awe through the severity of justice, and by providing as it were of some sewers or channels to draw and suck from them their money by subtle and indirect means, to be handled insensibly. The further consideration whereof I refer to your wisdom.

- D. The dearth of things { As it is to be amended by divers other ways, so it is specially to be reformed by } Putting in ure the statute for tillage and The amendment of our money.

The amendment of the money is to be attempted out of hand. Or else the longer the sore festereth the harder it will be to provide remedy for this behalf. For God's sake bestow three or four hours' talk with Bap. Dagnelli, who can say and do more in this case than any other man in the realm that I know.

- E. The division within the realm { Through the hatred conceived between the meaner sort and the gentlemen, and For the cause of religion. } This may be amended by good policy, by execution of justice, by giving reasonable courage to the gentleman, and by keeping of the mean man in awe.

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This case is to be warily handled, for it requireth great cunning and circumspection, both to reform religion and to make unity between the subjects, being at square for the respect thereof, and as I pray God to grant us concord both in the agreement upon the cause and state of religion, and among ourselves for the account of Catholic and Protestant: so would I wish that you would proceed to the reformation having respect to quiet at home, the affairs you have in hand with foreign princes, the greatness of the Pope, and how dangerous it is to make alteration in religion, specially in the beginning of a prince's reign. Glasses with small necks, if you pour into them any liquor suddenly or violently, will not be so filled, but refuse to receive that same that you would pour into them. Howbeit, if you instil water into them by a little and little they are soon replenished.

F. The wars have con- sumed our	{	Captains, Men, Money, Victuals, and Lost Calais.	}	The axe and the gallows have taken away some of our captains. I think it were necessary that in every shire, at the common charge, there might be some discipline and exercise used to prepare and frame the rude men into apt and able captains to serve in case of need.
---------------------------------------	---	--	---	--

All other plagues that before since the death of good King Edward have happened unto us have been in respect tolerable, and (as it were) but preludes of our great and grievous plague to come. The loss of Calais is the beginning of the same great plague, for it hath introduced the French king within the threshold of our

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house. So as now, or else never, your honours must bestir you, and meet with this mischief. Else, if you start not forth to the helm, we be at the point of the greatest misery that can happen to any people, which is to become thrall to a foreign nation.

G. Want of justice is to be redressed	{	By getting of substantial order that justice be duly and speedily executed within all the courts of the realm.
		That offenders be severely punished.
		That laws and statutes of the greatest importance be continually put in ure.
		And by the appointing of good, able, and skilful persons to the offices of justices of peace throughout all the shires of the realm.

### *A. Summary Rehearsal of the Present State of the Commonwealth*

The Queen poor. The realm exhausted. The nobility poor and decayed. Want of good captains and soldiers. The people out of order. Justice not executed. All things dear. Excess in meat, drink, and apparel. Division among ourselves. Wars with France and Scotland. The French king bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland. Steadfast enmity but no steadfast friendship abroad.

This for the shortness of the time I have written to your worship. If anything there be that may happen to content you, if it may please you to convert the same *in succum et sanguinem*, casting away the rest. Thus God grant unto you the increase of His grace, good success in all your endeavours, and good health and strength to bear out your travails.

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### B. *A Means to Advance Her Majesty's Revenue by Disforesting, Dischasing, and Disparking of Forests, Chases, and Parks*

I doubt whether in all Europa beside there be so many forests, chases, and parks as be in the small Isle of England. I think, therefore, it were not amiss that an immediate survey were made of them all throughout the realm. And that so many might remain in the state they be in, as be joining to the stately houses whereunto the prince is wont ordinarily to repair, and the rest to be converted to the best profit of Her Highness. By this means Her Majesty might greatly increase her revenue, and gratify the noblemen and her servants, letting their honours to have at prices indifferent the stateliest things, and her servants and others to have the rest at such prices as her other lands be rated at.

To diminish Her Majesty's charges.

It should be well done (after my poor opinion) that Her Highness did give away to noblemen and gentlemen all the houses that Her Majesty hath throughout the realm. Reserving as before (for so should Her Majesty be discharged of the continual burden and expenses that Her Highness and her predecessors have been at to maintain them). And when Her Highness upon occasion should have need to use them, she might do it in sort as other princes do that in the time of their progresses or going abroad to visit any part of their realms be lodged in their subjects' houses.

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### *Of Waste Ground within the Realm*

There be in the realm many waste grounds, which being now barbarous and barren for want of culture, with good husbandry may be reduced to fertility, and maintain a great number of people that now for fault of living be forced to steal, wander idly abroad, or lie in the streets of every good town, and die miserably. Among the rest, the New Forest is one, the which in times past (as it is said) had in it thirty parishes and odd more than be there now. I think that if painful and wise commissioners were appointed to this business they might do great good to the Commonweal, profit to Her Highness, and unto the nobility of the realm, whose necessity, in some part, might be relieved by this means, and the realm thereby made so much the stronger and more populous.

### *The form of two Councils*

The Council { Of State, 7.  
At Large, etc., 10.

The Council of State not to be above seven persons.

To attend ordinarily in the Court about Her Majesty's person.

Their days of session to be Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday in the forenoons, viz. between seven and eight in the morning to serve God; the rest till eleven to bestow in matters of council.

Not to sit in council in the afternoons nor upon the other days but through the intervention of urgent causes.

The rare sitting in council giveth a certain majesty and authority both to the councillors and session itself.

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When you do make *stata tempora* of sitting in council and peculiar days for the purpose, they come not without a certain expectation of the world, accompanied with a reverence and estimation of the business you have in hand, by reason of the intermission of time passing before, and that the time of sitting is tarried and looked for. As when we do attend the coming of a great prince, the longer that he tarrieth and we look for him, the better satisfaction the beholder receiveth when he cometh. I remember that Ovid, in preferring the oration of Ulysses before the same of Ajax, maketh him, representing the person of a furious and hot soldier, to begin his oration suddenly and without advisement, as one provoked thereunto with the sting of choler and anger. He bringeth in Ulysses as a person, wise, staid, and temperate, giving unto him the commendation of his circumspection and temperance with these words,

Expectatoque resolvit

Oro sono.

Of the other part, we do not so much esteem those things that be common and used every day.

Besides that by reason of the intermission of the time the counsellor cometh to his business with a more alacrity, and better advised what to speak in cases of weight.

And therefore I would not wish that when any matter of importance is proponed to the board it should be reasoned of by and by, but deferred until the next session; for so the counsellors might have respite to study and advise themselves how to speak to the purpose. And many times when upon the sudden *we* speak our opinion, though we be in an error, yet through

the stiffness and perversity of our nature we cannot be so well contented to yield and give place to another having spoken better to the purpose than we have done.

The Council at Large may not well exceed the number of ten. Their place of convention may be nigh to the Court, as for example's sake at Durham Place. Their times of session to be every day in the forenoon, Sunday only excepted.

Their charge may be to understand in all things committed unto them from the Council of State; to devise, travail, and study upon all manner of means whereby the commonweal may be reformed, benefited, and kept in good order. And as it were to grind all manner of corn to the hands of the Council of State, and they to make the batch of bread. To determine and pass nothing of themselves, but to refer all to the Council of State, saving in some cases, of course, for which purpose they may have commission under the broad seal.

I would wish there should be of them one divine, a lawyer, a civilian, a person of experience trained in foreign parts, a merchant, a man of war, and an auditor.

## IV

## GUEST'S LETTER

[From Parker MSS. 106, f. 84. See above, p. 31. Printed by Strype.]

Right Honourable,

That you might well understand, that I have neither ungodly allowed anything against the Scripture, neither

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unsteadfastly done anything contrary to my writing, neither rashly without just cause put away that which might be well suffered, nor indiscreetly for novelty brought in that which might be better left out, I am so bold to write to your honour some causes of the order taken in the new service: which enterprise, though you may justly reprove for the simple handling, yet I trust you will take it well for my good meaning. Therefore, committing your honourable state to the great mercy of God, and following the intent of my writing, thus I begin the matter:

### OF CEREMONIES

Ceremonies once taken away, as evil used, should not be taken again, though they be not evil of themselves, but might be well used. And that for four causes.

The first, because the Galatians were reprov'd of Paul for receiving again the ceremonies which once they had forsaken<sup>1</sup>: bidding them to stand in the liberty wherein they were called; and forbidding them to wrap themselves in the yoke of bondage<sup>2</sup>; saying, they builded again that which they had destroyed<sup>3</sup>; and reprov'g Peter, for that by his dissembling he provok'd the Gentiles to the ceremonial law, which they had left; looking back hereby from the plough which they had in hand.

The second cause, because Paul forbids us to abstain not only from that which is evil, but also from all that which is not evil, but yet hath the appearance of

<sup>1</sup> Gal. v. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. v. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Gal. ii. 14.



evil.<sup>1</sup> For this cause Ezekias destroyed the brazen serpent<sup>2</sup>; and Epiphanius the picture of Christ.

The third cause, because the Gospel is a short word,<sup>3</sup> putting away the law, which stood in decrees and ceremonies<sup>4</sup>; and a light and easy yoke,<sup>5</sup> delivering us from them. Therefore is it said, that we should *worship God in spirit and truth*,<sup>6</sup> and not in ceremonies and shadows also, as did the Jews. And Paul likeneth us Christians, for our freedom from ceremony, to men which live in all liberty; and the Jews, for their bondage in them, to men living in all thralldom.<sup>7</sup> Wherefore Augustine,<sup>8</sup> writing to Januarius against the multitude of ceremonies, thus saith: "Christ has bound us to a light burthen, joining us together with sacraments in number most few, in keeping most easy, in signification most passing." And in the next epistle following he bewaileth the multitude of ceremonies in his time, and calleth them *presumptions*. Which yet were but few in respect of the number of ours.

The fourth cause, because these ceremonies were devised of men, and abused to idolatry. For Christ with His Apostles would not wash their hands before meat, though of itself it was an honest civil order, because it was superstitiously used.<sup>9</sup> Paul forbade the Corinthians to come to the Gentiles' tables, where they did eat the meat which was offered to idols: though an idol was nothing, nor that which was offered to it anything.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Thess. v. 22.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. ix. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Eph. ii. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xi. 29.

<sup>6</sup> John iv. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Gal. iv. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Epist. 54, 55.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. xv. 2.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Cor. x. 19.

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### OF THE CROSS

Epiphanius, in an epistle which he wrote to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, and is translated by Hierom,<sup>1</sup> sheweth how he did cut in pieces a cloth in a church, wherein was painted the image of Christ, or of some saint, because it was against the Scriptures; and counsels the bishop to command the priests of the same church to set up no more any such cloth in the same place, calling it a superstition to have any such in the church. Leo, the Emperor, with a council holden at Constantinople, decreed that all images in the church should be broken. The same was decreed long before in the provincial council at Elibert in Spain, can. 36.

### OF PROCESSION

Procession is superfluous, because we may, as we ought to do, pray for the same in the church that we pray for abroad; yea, and better too. Because when we pray abroad, our mind is not so set upon God for sight of things (as experience teacheth), as when we pray in the church, where we have no such occasion to move our mind withal.

### OF VESTMENTS

Because it is thought sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating of the communion. For if we should use another garment herein, it should

<sup>1</sup> See Jerome, *Ep.* 51.

seem to teach us that higher and better things be given by it than be given by the other service ; which we must not believe. For in baptism we put on Christ : in the word we eat and drink Christ, as Hierom<sup>1</sup> and Gregory<sup>2</sup> write. And Austin saith, the word is as precious as this sacrament, in saying, "He sinneth as much which negligently heareth the word, as he which willingly letteth Christ's body to fall on the ground." And Chrysostom<sup>3</sup> saith, "He which is not fit to receive is not fit to pray." Which were not true, if prayer were not of as much importance as the communion.

OF THE DIVIDING THE SERVICE OF THE COMMUNION  
INTO TWO PARTS

Dionysius Areopagita<sup>4</sup> saith, "That after the reading of the Old and New Testament, the learners of the faith before they were baptized, madmen, and they that were joined to penance for their faults were shut out of the church, and they only did remain which did receive." Chrysostom<sup>5</sup> witnesseth also, that these three sorts were shut out from the communion. Therefore Durant<sup>6</sup> writeth, that the mass of the learners is from the *introit* until after the *offertory*, which is called *missa*, *mass*, or *sending out*: in that it sendeth out: because, when the priest beginneth to consecrate the sacrament,

<sup>1</sup> On Ecclesiastes, cap. 6.

<sup>2</sup> On Job, Bk. 17 on cap. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Chrysost. *Hom.* 61, Ad pop. Antioch.

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. *De Eccles. Hierar.* cap. 3, § 6.

<sup>5</sup> Chrysost. *In Mat. Hom.* 82.

<sup>6</sup> Durand. *De rationali Divinor.* lib. 4, cap. 1.

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the learners be sent out of the church. The mass, or *sending* out of the faithful, is from the offering till after communion; and is named *missa*, a *sending out*, because when it is ended, then each faithful is sent forth to his proper business.

### OF THE CREED

The Creed is ordained to be said only of the communicants, because Dionysius and Chrysostom and Basil, in their liturgies, say that the learners were shut out or the Creed was said; because it is the prayer of the faithful only, which were but the communicants. For that they which did not receive were taken for that time as not faithful. Therefore Chrysostom<sup>1</sup> saith, "That they which do not receive be as men doing penance for their sin."

### OF PRAYING FOR THE DEAD IN THE COMMUNION

That praying for the dead is not now used in the communion, because it doth seem to make for the sacrifice of the dead. And also because (as it was used in the first book) it makes some of the faithful to be in heaven, and to need no mercy; and some of them to be in another place, and to lack help and mercy. As though they were not all alike redeemed, and brought to heaven by Christ's merits: but some deserved it (as it is said of martyrs); and some, for lack of such perfectness, were in purgatory (as it is spoken of the meaner sort). But thus to pray for the dead in the communion was not

<sup>1</sup> Chr. *Hom.* 61, Ad pop. Antioch.

used in Christ and His Apostles' time, nor in Justin's time, who,<sup>1</sup> speaking of the manner of using the communion in his time, reporteth not this. So that I may here well say with Tertullian,<sup>2</sup> "That is true which is first; that is false which is after: that is true which is first; that is first which is from beginning; that is from beginning which is from the Apostles."

OF THE PRAYER IN THE FIRST BOOK FOR  
CONSECRATION

*O merciful Father, etc.*

This prayer is to be disliked for two causes. The first, because it is taken to be so needful for the consecration that the consecration is not thought to be without it. Which is not true: for petition is no part of consecration. Because Christ, in ordaining the sacrament,<sup>3</sup> made no petition, but a thanksgiving. It is written, "When He had given thanks,"<sup>4</sup> and not, "When He had asked." Which Christ would have spoken, and the evangelists have written, if it had been needful, as it is mistaken. And though Mark saith, "that Christ blessed, when He took bread," yet he meaneth by *blessed*, gave thanks, or else he would have said also, He gave thanks, as he said, He blessed, if he had meant thereby divers things. And speaking of the cup, he would have said, Christ blessed when He took the cup, as he saith, He gave thanks, if *gave thanks* and *blessed* were not

<sup>1</sup> *Secunda Apolog. pro Christianis.*

<sup>2</sup> Tertull. *Contr. Prax.* i. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xxvi. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Mar. xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24.

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all one. Or else Christ should be thought to have consecrated the bread and not the wine, because in consecrating the bread He said *blessed*, and in consecrating the wine He left it out. Yea, by Matthew, Luke, and Paul, He should neither have consecrated the one nor the other. For that they report not that He blessed.

Gregory<sup>1</sup> writeth to the Bishop of Syracusa, that the Apostles used only the Lord's Prayer at the communion, and none other; and seemeth to be displeased that it is not there still so used, but instead thereof the canon which Scholasticus made. Therefore, in that he would the Lord's Prayer to be used at the making of the communion, which making nothing for the consecration thereof, and not Scholasticus' prayer, which prayeth for the consecration of the same, it must needs be that he thought the communion not to be made by invocation.

Chrysostom<sup>2</sup> saith that this sacrament is made by the words of Christ once spoken; as everything is gendered by the words of God, that He once spake, "Increase and fill the earth."

Bessarion<sup>3</sup> saith that the consecration stands on Christ's ordinance and His words, and not on the prayer of the priest; and that for three causes. The first, because the priest may pray without faith, without which his prayer is not heard. The second, because the prayer is not all one in all countries. The third, because baptism is without prayer.

Justin,<sup>4</sup> in showing how the communion was cele-

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* lib. 6, 63.

<sup>2</sup> *De Perdit. Judae. Hom.* 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Libr. de Prec. Eucharist.*

<sup>4</sup> *2d Apol. pro Christian.*

brated in his time, maketh no mention of invocation. No more doth Irene<sup>1</sup>.

The second cause why the foresaid prayer is to be refused, is for that it prays that the bread and wine may be Christ's body and blood ; which makes for the popish transubstantiation : which is a doctrine that hath caused much idolatry ; and though the Doctors so speak, yet we must speak otherwise, because we take them otherwise than they meant, or would be taken. For when their meaning is corrupted, then their words must be expounded. In one place it is said, This is the new testament in my blood ; and in another place, This is my blood of the new testament : there Christ's words be diversely reported, that we should expound them when they be mistaken. And both He and His Apostles allege not after the letter, but after the meaning.

OF RECEIVING THE SACRAMENT IN OUR HANDS

Christ gave the sacrament into the hands of His Apostles. "Divide it," saith He, "among yourselves."<sup>2</sup> It is decreed<sup>3</sup> that the priest should be excommunicated which did suffer any man to take it with anything saving with his *hands* ; as then they made instruments to receive it withal. Ambrose thus speaketh to Theodosius the Emperor, "How wilt thou with such hands receive the body of Christ?" "If we be ashamed," saith Austin, "and afraid to touch the sacrament with foul hands, much more we ought to fear to take it with an unclean soul."

<sup>1</sup> Lib. 4, cap. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Luke xxii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Concil. Quinisext.* can. 101

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### OF RECEIVING STANDING OR KNEELING

Justin saith, we should rather stand than kneel when we pray on the Sunday, because it is a sign of resurrection; and writeth that Irene<sup>1</sup> saith that it is a custom which came from the Apostles. And Austin<sup>2</sup> thus writeth, "We pray standing, which is a sign of resurrection: therefore on every Sunday it is observed at the altar." It is in plain words in the last chapter of the last book (which Gaguens, a Frenchman, hath put to Tertullian's works as his) that Christ's body is received standing. Though this is the old use of the church to communicate standing, yet because it is taken of some by itself to be sin to receive kneeling, whereas of itself it is lawful, it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other; to teach men that it is lawful to receive either standing or kneeling.

Thus, as I think, I have showed good cause why the service is set forth in such sort as it is. God, for His mercy in Christ, cause the Parliament with one voice to enact it, and the realm with true heart to use it.

### V

#### CRANMER'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 7, 1552

[From S. P. Dom. Edward VI. vol. xv. No 15. Often printed.  
See above, p. 43.]

After my right humble commendations unto your good Lordships, whereas I understand from your Lord-

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestio ad Orthodox.* 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Epla. ad Jan.* 54.



ships' letters, that the King's Majesty's pleasure is that the Book of Common Service should be diligently perused, and therein the printers' errors to be amended, I shall travail therein to the uttermost of my power, albeit I had need first to have had the book written which was passed by Act of Parliament sealed with the great seal, which remaineth in the hands of Mr. Spilman, clerk of the Parliament, who is not in London, nor I cannot learn where he is. Nevertheless, I have gotten the copy which Mr. Spilman delivered to the printers to print by, which, I think, shall serve well enough.

And whereas I understand further, by your Lordships' letters, that some be offended with kneeling at the time of the receiving of the Sacrament, and would that I, calling to me the Bishop of London and some other learned men, as Mr. Peter Martyr or such like, should with them expend and weigh the said prescription of kneeling, whether it be fit to remain as a commandment, or to be left out of the Book, I shall accomplish the King's Majesty his commandment, albeit I trust that we with just balance weighed this at the making of the Book, and not only we but a great many bishops and other of the best learned within this realm, and appointed for that purpose. And now, the Book being read and approved by the whole state of the realm in the High Court of Parliament, with the King's Majesty his royal assent, that this should now be altered again without Parliament, of what importance this matter is I refer to your Lordships' wisdom to consider. I know your Lordships' wisdom to be such that I trust ye will not be moved by these glorious and unquiet spirits, which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy, and

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cease not to make trouble and disquietness when things be most quiet and in good order. If such men should be heard, although the Book were made every year anew, yet should it not lack faults in their opinion.

"But," say they, "it is not commanded in Scripture to kneel, and whatsoever is not commanded in the Scripture is against the Scripture, and utterly unlawful and ungodly." But this saying is the chief foundation of the error of the Anabaptists and of divers other sects. This saying is a subversion of all order as well in religion as in common policy. If this saying be true, take away the whole Book of Service. For what should men travail to set an order in the form of service, if no order can be set but that [which] is already prescribed by the Scripture? And because I will not trouble your Lordships with reciting of many Scriptures or proofs in this matter, whosoever teacheth any such doctrine (if your Lordships will give me leave) I will set my foot by his to be tried by fire, that his doctrine is untrue, and not only untrue, but also seditious, and perilous to be heard of any subjects, as a thing breaking the bridle of obedience and loosing them from the bond of all princes' laws.

My good Lordships, I pray you to consider that there be two prayers which go before the receiving of the Sacrament, and two immediately follow, all which time the people, praying and giving thanks, do kneel, and what inconvenience there is that it may not be thus ordered, I know not. If the kneeling of the people should be discontinued for the time of the receiving of the Sacrament, so that at the receipt thereof, they should rise up and stand or sit, and then immediately

kneel down again, it should rather import a contemptuous than a reverent receiving of the Sacrament. "But it is not expressly contained in the Scripture," say they, "that Christ ministered the Sacrament to His Apostles kneeling." Nor they find it not expressly in Scripture that He ministered it standing or sitting; but if we will follow the plain words of Scripture, we shall rather receive it lying down on the ground, as the custom of the world at that time [was] almost everywhere, and as the Tartars and Turks use yet at this day to eat their meal lying upon the ground. And the words of the Evangelist import the same, which be ἀνάκειμαι and ἀναπίπτω, which signify properly to lie down upon the floor or ground, and not to sit upon a form or stool. And the same speech use the Evangelists where they show that Christ fed five thousand with five loaves, where it is plainly expressed that they sat down upon the ground and not upon stools.

I beseech your Lordships to take in good part this my long babbling, which I write as of myself only, because the Bishop of London is not yet come, and your Lordships required answer with speed; and therefore am I constrained to make some answer to your Lordships afore his coming. And thus I pray God to preserve your Lordships, and to increase the same in all prosperity and godliness.

At Lambeth, this 7th of October, 1552.

Your Lordships' to command,

T. CANT<sup>r</sup>.

Addressed: "To my very good Lords of the King's most honourable Council."

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### VI

#### SPEECH OF ABBOT FECKENHAM

[From B. M. Vesp. D. 18, and Parker MSS. 121 f. 127. See above, pp. 48 and 88. Printed by Strype.]

Honourable and my very good Lords—Having at this present two sundry kinds of religion here propounded and set forth before your honours, being already in possession of the one of them, and your fathers before you, for the space of fourteen hundred years past here in this realm, like as I shall hereafter prove unto you ; the other religion here set in a book to be received and established by the authority of this High Court of Parliament, and to take his effect here in this realm at midsummer next coming : and you being, as I know, right well desirous to have some proof or sure knowledge, which of both these religions is the better, and most worthy to be established here in this realm, and to be preferred before the other, I will for my part, and for the discharge of my duty, first unto God, secondly, unto our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness, thirdly, unto your honours and to the whole commons of this realm, here set forth, and express unto you, three brief rules and lessons, whereby your honours shall be able to put difference betwixt the true religion of God and the counterfeit, and therein never be deceived. The first of these three rules or lessons is, that in your search and trial making, your honours must observe which of them both hath been of most antiquity, and most

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observed in the Church of Christ, of all men, at all times and seasons, and in all places. The second, which of them both is of itself more steadfast, and alway forth one and agreeable with itself. The third and last rule to be considered of your wisdoms is, which of these religions doth breed the more humble and obedient subjects, first unto God, and next unto our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness and all superior powers.

Concerning the first rule and lesson, it cannot be truly affirmed or yet thought of any man, that this new religion, here now to be set forth in this book, hath been observed in Christ's Church of all Christian men, at all times and in all places ; when the same hath been observed only here in this realm, and that for a short time, as not much passing the space of two years, and that in King Edward the Sixth his days : whereas the religion, and the very same manner of serving and honouring of God, of the which you are at this present in possession, did begin here in this realm 1400 years past in King Lucius's days, the first Christian king of this realm ; by whose humble letters sent to the Pope Eleutherius, he sent to this realm two holy monks, the one called Damianus, the other Faganus ; and they, as ambassadors sent from the See Apostolic of Rome, did bring into this realm so many years past the very same religion whereof we are now in possession ; and that in the Latin tongue, as the ancient historiographer Gildas witnesseth in the prologue and beginning of his book of the *Britain History*. And the same religion so long ago begun, hath had this long continuance ever since here in this realm, not only of the inhabitants

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thereof, but also generally of all Christian men, and in all places of Christendom, until the late days of King Edward the Sixth as is aforesaid. Whereby it appeareth unto all men that list to see and know, how that by this rule and lesson the ancient religion and manner of serving of God (whereof we are already in possession) is the very true and perfect religion, and of God.

Touching the second rule and lesson of trial making and probation, whether of both these religions is the better and most worthy of observation here in this realm, is this, that your honours must observe which of both these is the most staid religion, and always forth one, and agreeable with itself. And that the new religion here now to be set forth in this book, is no staid religion, nor always forth one, nor agreeable with itself, who seeth it not; when in the late practice thereof in King Edward the Sixth his days, how changeable and variable was it in and to itself? Every other year having a new book devised thereof; and every book, being set forth, as they professed, according to the sincere word of God, never an one of them agreeing in all points with the other: the first book affirming the Seven Sacraments and the real presence of Christ's Body in the Holy Eucharist, the other denying the same; the one book admitting the real presence of Christ's Body in the said Sacrament to be received in one kind with kneeling down, and great reverence done unto it, and that in unleavened bread; and the other book would have the Communion received in both the kinds, and in loaf bread, without any reverence, but only unto the Body of Christ in heaven. But the thing most worthy to be observed of your honours is,

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how that every book made a show to be set forth according to the sincere word of God, and not one of them did agree with another. And what marvel, I pray you, when the authors and devisers of the same books could not agree amongst themselves, nor yet any one of them might be found that did long agree with himself? And for the proof thereof, I shall first begin with the German writers, the chief schoolmasters and instructors of our countrymen in all these novelties.

And I do read in an epistle which Philip Melancthon did write unto one Frederico Miconino, how that one Carolostadius was the first mover and beginner of the late sedition in Germany, touching the Sacrament of the Altar, and the denial of Christ's real presence in the same. And when he should come to interpret those words of our Saviour Christ: "Accipit panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite, et comedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur; digito, inquit ille, monstravit visibile corpus suum." By which interpretation of Carolostadius, Christ should with the one hand give unto His disciples bread to eat, and with the other hand point unto His visible body that was there present, and say, "This is my body, which shall be betrayed for you." Martin Luther, much offended with this foolish exposition made by Carolostadius of the words of Christ, "Hoc est corpus meum," he giveth another sense, and saith, that "Germanus sensus verborum Christi" was this, "Per hunc panem, vel cum isto pane, en! do vobis corpus meum." Zwinglius, finding much fault with this interpretation of Martin Luther, writeth that Luther therein was much deceived, and how that in these words

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of Christ, "Hoc est corpus meum," the verb-substantive *est* must be taken for *significat*, and this word *corpus* (*quod pro vobis tradetur*) must be taken *pro figura corporis*. So that the true sense of these words of Christ, "Hoc est corpus meum," by Zwinglius' supposal is, "Hoc significat corpus meum, vel est figura corporis mei." Peter Martyr being of late here in this realm, in his book by him set forth, of the disputation which he had in Oxford with the learned students there of this matter, giveth another sense of these words of Christ, contrary unto all the rest, and there sayeth thus : "Quod Christus accipiens panem benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum, quasi diceret corpus meum, per fidem perceptum, erit vobis pro pane, vel instar panis." Of whose sense the English is this, that "Christ's body received by faith shall be unto you as bread, or instead of the bread."

But here to cease any further to speak of these German writers, I shall draw nearer home, as unto Dr. Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury in this realm ; how contrary was he unto himself in this matter ? When in one year he did set forth a Catechism in the English tongue, and did dedicate the same unto King Edward the Sixth, wherein he did most constantly affirm and defend the real presence of Christ's body in the Holy Eucharist ; and very shortly after he did set forth another book, wherein he did most shamefully deny the same, falsifying both the Scriptures and doctors, to the no small admiration of all the learned readers. Dr. Ridley, the notablest learned of that religion in this realm, did set forth at Paul's Cross the real presence of





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Christ's Body in the Sacrament, with these words, which I heard, being there present: "How that the devil did believe that the Son of God was able to make of stones bread; and we English people, which do confess that Jesus Christ was the very Son of God, yet will not believe that He did make of bread His very body, flesh and blood. Therefore we are worse than the devil; seeing that our Saviour Christ by express words did most plainly affirm the same, when at the Last Supper He took bread, and said unto His disciples, 'Take ye, eat; this is my body, which shall be given for you.'" And shortly after the said Dr. Ridley, notwithstanding this most plain and open speech at Paul's Cross, did deny the same. And in the last book that Doctor Cranmer and his accomplices did set forth of the Communion in King Edward the Sixth his days, these plain words of Christ, "*Hoc est corpus meum*," did so encumber them and trouble their wits, that they did leave out in the same last book this verb-substantive *est*; and made the sense of Christ's words to be there Englished, "Take, eat this my body," and left out there, "this is my body"; which thing being espied by others, and great fault found withal, then they were fain to patch up the matter with a little piece of paper clapped over the foresaid words, wherein was written this verb-substantive *est*. The dealing herewith being so uncertain, both of the German writers and English, and one of them so much against another, your honours may be well assured that this religion, which by them is set forth, can be no constant or staid religion, and therefore of your honours not to be received; but great wisdom it were for your honours to refuse the same,

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until you shall perceive better agreement amongst the authors and setters forth of the same.

Touching the third and last rule of trial making, and putting of difference between these religions, it is to be considered of your honours which of them both doth breed more obedient, humble, and better subjects ; first and chiefly unto our Saviour and Redeemer ; secondly, unto our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness and to all other superiors. And for some trial and probation thereof, I shall desire your honours to consider the sudden mutation of the subjects of this realm since the death of the good Queen Mary, only caused in them by the preachers of this new religion : when in Queen Mary's days your honours do know right well how the people of this realm did live in an order ; and would not run before laws, nor openly disobey the Queen's Highness's proceedings and proclamations. There was no spoiling of churches, pulling down of altars, and most blasphemous treading of Sacraments under their feet, and hanging up the knave of clubs in the place thereof ; there was no scotching nor cutting of the faces and legs of the crucifix and image of Christ ; there was no open flesh-eating, nor shambles-keeping in the Lent and days prohibited. The subjects of this realm, and especially the nobility and such as were of the honourable Council, did in Queen Mary's days know the way unto churches and chapels, there to begin their day's work, with calling for help and grace by humble prayers and serving of God. And now, since the coming and reign of our most sovereign and dear lady Queen Elizabeth, by the only preachers and scaffold-players of this new religion, all things are turned

upside down, and notwithstanding the Queen's Majesty's proclamations most godly made to the contrary, and her virtuous example of living, sufficient to move the hearts of all obedient subjects to the due service and honour of God. But obedience is gone, humility and meekness clear abolished, virtuous chastity and strait living denied, as though they had never been heard of in this realm, all degrees and kinds being desirous of fleshly and carnal liberty, whereby the young springalls and children are degenerate from their natural fathers, the servants contemptors of their masters' commandments, the subjects disobedient unto God and all superior powers.

And therefore, honourable and my very good Lords, of my part to minister some occasion unto your honours to expel, avoid, and put out of this realm this new religion, whose fruits are already so manifestly known to be, as I have repeated ; and to persuade your honours to avoid it, as much as in me lieth, and to persevere and continue steadfastly in the same religion, whereof you are in possession, and have already made profession of the same unto God ; I shall rehearse unto your honours four things, whereby the holy doctor St. Augustine was continued in the Catholic Church and religion of Christ, which he had received, and would by no means change nor alter from the same. The first of these four things was, "*Ipsa autoritas ecclesie Christi miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, charitate aucta, vetustate firmata.*" The second thing was, "*Populi Christiani consensus et unitas.*" The third was, "*Perpetua sacerdotum successio in sede Petri.*" The fourth and last thing was, "*Ipsum catholici nomen.*" If these four things did cause so notable and learned a

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clerk as St. Augustine was to continue in his professed religion of Christ without all change and alteration, how much then ought these four points to work the like effect in your hearts; and not to forsake your professed religion? First, because it hath the authority of Christ's Church. Secondly, because it hath the consent and agreement of Christian people. Thirdly, because it hath the confirmation of all Peter's successors in the See Apostolic. Fourthly, it hath "*ipsum catholice nomen*," and in all times and seasons called the Catholic religion of Christ. Thus bold have I been to trouble your honours with so tedious and long an oration, for the discharging, as I said before, of my duty, first unto God; secondly, unto our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness; thirdly and last, unto your honours and all other subjects of this realm: most humbly beseeching your honours to take it in good part, and to be spoken of me for the only causes above said and for none other.

### VII

#### SPEECH OF BISHOP SCOT

[From B. M. Vesp. D. 8, p. 78. Printed by Strype.  
See above, p. 101.]

This bill that hath been here read now the third time doth appear unto me such one as that it is much to be lamented that it should be suffered either to be read, yea, or any ear to be given unto it of Christian men, or so honourable an assembly as this is: for it

doth not only call in question and doubt those things which we ought to reverence without any doubt moving ; but maketh further earnest request for alteration, yea, for the clear abolishing of the same. And that this may more evidently appear, I shall desire your Lordships to consider, that our religion, as it was here of late discreetly, godly, and learnedly declared, doth consist partly in inward things, as in faith, hope, and charity ; and partly in outward things, as in common prayers and the holy Sacraments uniformly administered.

Now, as concerning these outward things, this bill doth clearly in very deed extinguish them, setting in their places I cannot tell what. And the inward it doth also so shake, that it leaveth them very bare and feeble.

For first, by this bill, Christian charity is taken away, in that the unity of Christ's Church is broken ; for it is said, "*Nunquam relinquunt unitatem, qui non prius amittunt charitatem.*" And St. Paul saith, that charity is "*vinculum perfectionis,*" the bond or chain of perfection, wherewith we be knit and joined together in one. Which bond being loosed, we must needs fall one from another, in divers parties and sects, as we see we do at this present. And as touching our faith, it is evident that divers of the articles and mysteries thereof be also not only called into doubt, but partly openly, and partly obscurely, and yet in very deed, as the other, flatly denied. Now these two, I mean faith and charity, being in this case, hope is either left alone, or else presumption set in her place : whereupon for the most part desperation doth follow ; from the which I pray God preserve all men.

Wherefore these matters mentioned in this bill,

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wherein our whole religion consisteth, we ought, I say, to reverence, and not to call into question. For as a learned man writeth, "Quae patefacta sint quaerere, quae perfecta sunt retractare, et quae definita sunt convellere, quid aliud est, quin de adeptis gratiam non referre?" That is to say, "To seek after the things which be manifestly opened, to call back or retract things made perfect, and to pull up again matters defined, what other thing is it than not to give thanks for benefits received?" Likewise saith holy Athanasius, "Quae nunc a tot ac talibus episcopis probata sunt ac decreta, clareque demonstrata, supervacaneum est denuo revocare in judicium." "It is a superfluous thing," saith Athanasius, "to call into judgment again matters which have been tried, decreed, and manifestly declared, by so many and such bishops" (he meaneth, as were at the Council of Nice). "For no man will deny," saith he, "but if they be new examined again, and of new judged, and after that examined again and again, this curiosity will never come to any end." And as it is said in *Ecclesiastica Historia*, "Si quotidie licebit fidem in quaestionem vocare, de fide nunquam constabit": "If it shall be lawful every day to call our faith in question, we shall never be certain of our faith." Now if that Athanasius did think, that no man ought to doubt of matters determined in the Council of Nice, where there was present three hundred and eighteen bishops, how much less ought we to doubt of matters determined and practised in the Holy Catholic Church of Christ by three hundred thousand bishops, and how many more we cannot tell?

And as for the certainty of our faith, whereof the

## *Speech of Bishop Scot* 239

story of the Church doth speak, it is a thing of all other most necessary; and if it shall hang upon an Act of Parliament, we have but a weak staff to lean unto. And yet I shall desire your Lordships not to take me here as to speak in derogation of the Parliament, which I acknowledge to be of great strength in matters whereunto it extendeth. But for matters in religion, I do not think that it ought to be meddled withal, partly for the certainty which ought to be in our faith and religion, and the uncertainty of the Statutes and Acts of Parliaments. For we see that oftentimes that which is established by Parliament one year is abrogated the next year following, and the contrary allowed. And we see also that one king disalloweth the statutes made under the other. But our faith and religion ought to be most certain, and one in all times, and in no condition wavering: for, as St. James saith, "He that doubteth, or staggereth, in his faith, is like the waves of the sea, and shall obtain nothing at the hands of God." And partly for that the Parliament consisteth for the most part of noblemen of this realm, and certain of the commons, being lay and temporal men; which, although they be both of good wisdom and learning, yet not so studied nor exercised in the Scriptures, and the holy doctors and practices of the Church, as to be competent judges in such matters. Neither doth it appertain to their vocation; yea, and that by your Lordships' own judgment; as may well be gathered of one fact, which I remember was done this Parliament time, which was this: there was a nobleman's son arrested and committed unto ward; which matter being opened here unto your Lordships, was thought to be an

injury to this House. Whereupon as well the young gentleman as the officer that did arrest him, and the party by whose means he was arrested, were all sent for, and commanded to appear here before your Lordships: which was done accordingly. Yet before the parties were suffered to come into the House, it was thought expedient to have the whole matter considered, lest this House should intermeddle with matters not pertaining unto it. In treating whereof, there were found three points. First, there was a debt, and that your Lordships did remit to the Common Law. The second was a fraud, which was referred to the Chancery, because neither of both did appertain unto this Court. And the third was the arrest and committing to ward of the said gentleman, wherein this House took order. Now if that by your Lordships' own judgments the Parliament hath not authority to meddle with matters of common law, which is grounded upon common reason, neither with the Chancery, which is grounded upon consideration (which two things be naturally given unto man), then much less may it intermeddle with matters of faith and religion, far passing reason and the judgment of man, such as the contents of this bill be: wherein there be three things specially to be considered; that is, the weightiness of the matter; the darkness of the cause, and the difficulty in trying out the truth; and thirdly, the danger and peril which doth ensue, if we do take the wrong way.

As concerning the first, that is, the weightiness of the matter contained in this bill. It is very great: for it is no money matter, but a matter of inheritance; yea, a matter touching life and death; and damnation



## *Speech of Bishop Scot* 241

dependeth upon it. Here is it set before us, as the Scripture saith, life and death, fire and water. If we put our hand into the one, we shall live; if it take hold of the other, we shall die. Now to judge these matters here propounded, and discern which is life and which is death, which is fire that will burn us, and which is water that will refresh and comfort us, is a great matter, and not easily perceived of every man. Moreover, there is another great matter here to be considered, and that is, that we do not unadvisedly condemn our forefathers and their doings, and justify ourselves and our own doings; which both the Scripture forbiddeth. This we know, that this doctrine and form of religion, which this bill propoundeth to be abolished and taken away, is that which our forefathers were born, brought up, and lived in, and have professed here in this realm without any alteration or change, by the space of nine hundred years and more; and hath also been professed and practised in the Universal Church of Christ since the Apostles' time. And that which we go about to establish and place for it is lately brought in, allowed nowhere, nor put in practice, but in this realm only; and that but a small time, and against the minds of all Catholic men. Now if we do consider but the antiquity of the one and the newness of the other, we have just occasion to have the one in estimation for the long continuance thereof, unto such time as we see evident cause why we should revoke it: and to suspect the other as never heard of here before, unto such time as we see just cause why we should receive it, seeing that our fathers never heard tell of it.

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But now I do call to remembrance that I did hear yesterday a nobleman in this house say, making an answer unto this as it were by preoccupation, that our fathers lived in blindness, and that we have just occasion to lament their ignorance; whereunto me thinketh it may be answered, that if our fathers were here, and heard us lament their doings, it is very like that they would say unto us, as our Saviour Christ said unto the women which followed Him when He went to His death, and wept after Him, "*Nolite flere super nos, sed super vos*"; *i.e.* "Weep not over us for our blindness, but weep over yourselves for your own presumption, in taking upon you so arrogantly to justify yourselves and your own doings, and so rashly condemning us and our doings." Moreover, David doth teach us a lesson clear contrary to this nobleman's sayings: for he biddeth us in doubtful matters go to our fathers, and learn the truth of them, in these words: "*Interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi, majores tuos et dicent tibi*"; *i.e.* "Ask of thy father, and he shall declare the truth unto thee, and of thine ancestors, and they will tell thee"; and after in the same Psalm, "*Filii qui nascentur et exsurgent, narrabunt filiis suis, ut cognoscat generatio altera*"; *i.e.* "The children which shall be born, and rise up, shall tell unto their children, that it may be known from one generation to another." David here willet us to learn of our fathers, and not to contemn their doings. Wherefore I conclude, as concerning this part, that this bill, containing in it matters of great weight and importance, it is to be deliberated on with great diligence and circumspection, and examined, tried, and

determined by men of great learning, virtue, and experience.

And as this matter is great, and therefore not to be passed over hastily, but diligently to be examined, so is it dark, and of great difficulty to be so plainly discussed as that the truth may manifestly appear. For here be, as I have said, two books of religion propounded, the one to be abolished as erroneous and wicked, and the other to be established as godly and consonant to Scripture; and they be both concerning one matter, that is, the true administration of the Sacraments according to the institution of our Saviour Christ. In the which administration there be three things to be considered. The first is the institution of our Saviour Christ for the matter and substance of the Sacraments. The second, the ordinances of the Apostles for the form of the Sacraments. And the third is the additions of the holy fathers for the adorning and perfecting of the administration of the said Sacraments. Which three be all duly, as we see, observed, and that of necessity, in this Book of the Mass and old Service, as all men do know which understand it. The other book, which is so much extolled, doth *ex professo* take away two of these three things, and in very deed maketh the third a thing of nought. For first, as concerning the additions of the fathers, as in the Mass, *Confiteor*, *Misereatur*, *Kyrie Eleeson*, *Sequentes preces*, *Sanctus Agnus Dei*, with such other things; and also the ordinances of the Apostles, as blessings, crossings; and in the administration of divers of the Sacraments, exsufflations, exorcisms, inunctions, praying towards the east, invocation of saints,

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prayer for the dead, with such other—this book taketh away, either in part or else clearly, as things not allowable. And yet doth the fautors thereof contend, that it is most perfect according to Christ's institution and the order of the Primitive Church. But, to let the ordinances of the Apostles and the additions of the fathers pass (which, notwithstanding, we ought greatly to esteem and reverence), let us come to the institution of our Saviour Christ, whereof they talk so much, and examine whether of those two books come nearest unto it. And to make things plain, we will take for example the Mass, or, as they call it, the Supper of the Lord; wherein our Saviour Christ (as the holy fathers do gather upon the Scriptures) did institute three things, which He commanded to be done in remembrance of His death and passion unto His coming again, saying, "Hoc facite," etc.; "Do ye this." Whereof the first is, the consecrating of the blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The second, the offering up of the same unto God the Father. And the third, the communicating, that is, the eating and drinking of the said blessed Body and Blood, under the forms of bread and wine. And as concerning the first two, St. Chrysostom saith thus, "Volo quiddam edicere plane mirabile, et nolite mirari neque turbamini," etc. "I will," saith St. Chrysostom, "declare unto you in very deed a marvellous thing, but marvel not at it, nor be not troubled. But what is this? It is the holy oblation; whether Peter or Paul or a priest of any desert do offer, it is the very same which Christ gave to His disciples, and which priests do make or consecrate at this time. This hath nothing less than

that. Why so? Because men do not sanctify this, but Christ, which did sanctify that before. For like as the words which Christ did speak be the very same which the priests do now pronounce, so is it the very same oblation." These be the words of St. Chrysostom; wherein he testifieth as well the oblation and sacrifice of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, offered unto God the Father in the Mass, as also the consecrating of the same by the priest. Which two be both taken away by this book, as the authors thereof do willingly acknowledge; crying out of the offering of Christ oftener than once, notwithstanding that all the holy fathers do teach it; manifestly affirming Christ to be offered daily after an unbloody manner. But if these men did understand and consider what doth ensue and follow of this their affirmation, I think they would leave their rashness and return to the truth again. For if it be true that they say, that there is no external sacrifice in the New Testament, then doth it follow that there is no priesthood under the same, whose office is, saith St. Paul, "to offer up gifts and sacrifices for sin." And if there be no priesthood, then is there no religion under the New Testament. And if we have no religion, then be we "*Sine Deo in hoc mundo*," that is, "We be without God in this world." For one of these doth necessarily depend and follow upon another. So that if we grant one of these, we grant all; and if we take away one, we take away all.

Note, I beseech your Lordships, the end of these men's doctrines, that is, to set us without God. And the like opinion they hold touching the consecration;

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having nothing in their mouths but the Holy Communion, which after the order of this book is holy only in words and not in deed. For the thing is not there which should make it holy—I mean the Body and Blood of Christ. As may thus appear, it may justly in very deed be called the Holy Communion if it be ministered truly and accordingly as it ought to be; for then we receive Christ's holy Body and Blood into our bodies, and be joined in one with Him, like two pieces of wax, which being molten and put together, be made one. Which similitude St. Cyril and Chrysostom do use in this matter; and St. Paul saith, that we be made His bones and flesh. But by the order of this book this is not done; for Christ's Body is not there in very deed to be received. For the only way whereby it is present is by consecration, which this book hath not at all; neither doth it observe the form prescribed by Christ, nor follow the manner of the Church. The Evangelists declare that our Saviour took bread into His hands, and did bless it, brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, "Take and eat; this is my body which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me." By these words, "do this," we be commanded to take bread into our hands, to bless it, break it, and having a respect to the bread, to pronounce the words spoken by our Saviour, that is, "*Hoc est corpus meum.*" By which words, saith St. Chrysostom, the bread is consecrated. Now, by the order of this book neither doth the priest take the bread in his hands, bless it, nor break it, neither yet hath any regard or respect to the bread, when he rehearseth the words of Christ, but doth pass them over as they were telling a tale or rehearsing a story. More-

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over, whereas by the minds of good writers there is required, yea, and that of necessity, a full mind and intent to do that which Christ did, that is, to consecrate His Body and Blood, with other things following ; wherefore the Church hath appointed in the Mass certain prayers to be said by the priest before the consecration, in the which these words be, "Ut nobis fiat corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi" ; that is, the prayer is to this end, that the creatures may be made unto us the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Here is declared the intent, as well of the Church as also of the priest which sayeth Mass. But as for this new book, there is no such thing mentioned in it, that doth either declare any such intent, either make any such request unto God, but rather to the contrary : as doth appear by the request there made in these words, "That we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine," etc., which words declare that they intend no consecration at all. And then let them glory as much as they will in their Communion, it is to no purpose, seeing that the Body of Christ is not there, which, as I have said, is the thing that should be communicated.

There did yesterday a nobleman in this house say, that he did believe that Christ is there received in the communion set out in this book ; and being asked if he did worship Him there, he said, no, nor never would, so long as he lived. Which is a strange opinion, that Christ should be anywhere and not worshipped. They say they will worship Him in heaven, but not in the Sacrament : which is much like as if a man would say, that when the Emperor sitteth under his cloth of estate, princely apparelled, he is to be honoured ; but

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if he come abroad in a frieze coat, he is not to be honoured ; and yet he is all one Emperour in cloth of gold under his cloth of estate and in a frieze coat abroad in the street. As it is one Christ in heaven in the form of Man, and in the Sacrament under the forms of bread and wine. The Scripture, as St. Augustine doth interpret it, doth command us to worship the Body of our Saviour, yea, and that in the Sacrament in these words : "Adorate scabellum pedum ejus, quoniam sanctum est" ; "Worship his footstool, for it is holy." Upon the which place St. Augustine writeth thus : "Christ took flesh of the blessed Virgin his mother, and in the same He did walk, and the same flesh He gave us to eat unto health ; but no man will eat that flesh except he worship it before. So is it found out how we shall worship His footstool, etc. ; we shall not only not sin in worshipping, but we shall sin in not worshipping." Thus far St. Augustine. But as concerning this matter, if we would consider all things well, we shall see the provision of God marvellous in it. For He provideth so that the very heretics and enemies of the truth be compelled to confess the truth in this behalf. For the Lutherans writing against the Zwinglians do prove that the true natural Body of our Saviour Christ is in the Sacrament. And the Zwinglians against the Lutherans do prove that then it must needs be worshipped there. And thus in their contention doth the truth burst out, whether they will or no. Wherefore, in mine opinion, of these two errors, the fonder is to say that Christ is in the Sacrament and yet not to be worshipped, than to say, He is not there at all. For either they do think that He is there but in an



imagination or fancy, and so not in very deed ; or else they be Nestorians, and think that there is His Body only, and not His Divinity : which be both devilish and wicked.

Now, my Lords, consider, I beseech you, the matters here in variance ; whether your Lordships be able to discuss them according to learning, so as the truth may appear, or no : that is, whether the Body of Christ be by this new book consecrated, offered, adored, and truly communicated, or no ; and whether these things be required necessarily by the institution of our Saviour Christ, or no ; and whether book goeth nearer the truth. These matters, my Lords, be, as I have said, weighty and dark, and not easy to be discussed. And likewise your Lordships may think of the rest of the Sacraments, which be either clearly taken away or else mangled after the same sort by this new book.

The third thing here to be considered is, the great danger and peril that doth hang over your heads if you do take upon you to be judges in these matters and judge wrong ; bringing both yourselves and others from the truth unto untruth, from the highways unto bypaths. It is dangerous enough, our Lord knoweth, for a man himself to err, but it is more dangerous not only to err himself, but also to lead other men into error. It is said in the Scripture of the King Jeroboam, to aggravate his offences, that "Peccavit et peccare fecit Israel" ; *i.e.* "He did sin himself, and caused Israel to sin." Take heed, my Lords, that the like be not said by you ; if you pass this bill, you shall not only, in my judgment, err yourselves, but ye also shall be the

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authors and causers that the whole realm shall err after you. For the which you shall make an account before God.

Those that have read stories and know the discourse and order of the Church, discussing of controversies in matters of religion, can testify that they have been discussed and determined in all times by the clergy only, and never by the temporality. The heresy of Arius, which troubled the Church in the time of the Emperor Constantine the Great, was condemned in the Council of Nice; the heresy of Eutyches in the Council of Chalcedon under Martin; the heresy of Macedonius in the first Council of Constantinople, in the time of Theodosius; the heresy of Nestorius in the Ephesian Council, in the time of Theodosius the younger. And yet did never none of these good emperors assemble their nobility and commons for the discussing and determining of these controversies, neither asked their minds in them, or went by number of voices or polls to determine the truth, as is done here in this realm at this time. We may come lower, to the third Council of Toledo in Spain, in the time of Reccared, being there; and to the Council in France about eight hundred years ago, in the time of Carolus Magnus: which both, following the order of the Church, by licence had of the Pope, did procure the clergy of their realms to be gathered and assembled, for reforming of certain errors and enormities within their said realms; whereunto they never called their nobility nor commons, neither did any of them take upon themselves either to reason and dispute in discussing of the controversies, neither to determine them being discussed, but left the whole to the discuss-

ing and determining of the clergy. And no marvel, if these with all other Catholic princes used this trade. For the emperors that were heretics did never reserve any such matter to the judgment of temporal men, as may appear to them that read the stories of Constantius, Valens, etc., who procured divers assemblies, but always of the clergy, for the stablishing of Arius' doctrine; and of Zeno the Emperor, which did the like for Eutyches' doctrine, with many other of that sort. Yea, it doth appear in the Acts of the Apostles that an infidel would take no such matter upon him. The story is this: St. Paul having continued at Corinth one year and an half in preaching of the Gospel, certain wicked persons did arise against him, and brought him before their vice-consul, called Gallio, laying unto his charge that he taught the people to worship God contrary to their law. Unto whom the vice-consul answered thus: "*Si quidem esset iniquum aliquid aut facinus pessimum, o vos Judaei, recte vos sustinerem; si vero quaestiones sint de verbo et nominibus legis vestrae, vos ipsi videritis. Judex horum ego nolo esse*"; *i.e.* "If that this man," saith Gallio, "had committed any wicked act or cursed crime, O ye Jews, I might justly have heard you; but and if it be concerning questions and doubts of the words and matters of your law"—that is to say, "if it be touching your religion"—"I will not be judge in those matters." Mark, my Lords, this short discourse, I beseech your Lordships, and ye shall perceive that all Catholic princes, heretic princes, yea, and infidels, have from time to time refused to take that upon them that your Lordships go about and challenge to do.

But now, because I have been long, I will make an

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end of this matter with the sayings of two noble emperors in the like affairs. The first is Theodosius, which said thus: "*Illicitum est enim qui non sit ex ordine sanctorum episcoporum ecclesiasticis se immiscere tractatibus,*" *i.e.* "It is not lawful," saith he, "for him that is not of the order of the holy bishops to intermeddle with the intreating of ecclesiastical matters." Likewise said Valentinianus the Emperor (being desired to assemble certain bishops together, for examining of a matter of doctrine), in this wise: "*Mihi qui in sorte sum plebis, fas non est talia curiosius scrutari: sacerdotes, quibus ista curae sunt, inter seipsos quocunque loco voluerint convenient,*" *i.e.* "It is not lawful for me," quoth the Emperor, "being one of the lay people, to search out such matters curiously; but let the priests, unto whom the charge of these things doth appertain, meet together in what place soever they will." He meaneth, for the discoursing thereof. But to conclude, and if these emperors had not to do with such matters, how should your Lordships have to do withal? And thus desiring your good Lordships to consider, and take in good part, these few things that I have spoken, I make an end.

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## VIII

### LIST OF ATTENDANCES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, 1559

[From the *Journal* of the House of Lords, i. 562. See above, p. 86.]

NAMES.	March.				April.	
	13	15	17	18	22	15 17
Archiepus. Eboracen . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
Epus. London . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Dunelmen . . .						
„ Winton . . .	p	p	p	p	p	
„ Elien . . .						p
„ Wigorn . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Landaven . . .		p	p	p	p	p
„ Bathon . . .						
„ Meneven . . .						
„ Coven . . .		p	p	p	p	p
„ Exon . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Cestren . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Carliolen . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Lyncoln . . .						
„ Peterburgen . . .						
Abbas de Westm. . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
Nich. Bakon, Cust. Mag. Sigilli .	p	p	p	p	p	
Marchio Winton, Thesaurarius .	p	p	p	p	p	
Dux Norff. Comes Marescallus .	p	p	p	p	p	
Marchio Northampton . . .			p	p	p	
Comes Oxon. Mag. Camerarius .						
„ Arundell . . .						p
„ Northumbr. . .						
„ Westmerland . . .	p	p	p	p	p	
„ Salopp . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Darby . . .						
„ Wigorn . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Rutland . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Cumberland . . .						
„ Sussex . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Huntington . . .	p					
„ Bathon . . .						
„ Bedford . . .			p	p	p	p
„ Pembroke . . .	p			p	p	
Vicecomes Mountague . . .	p	p	p	p	p	p
„ Howard de Byndon . . .	p	p	p	p	p	

No entry.

No entry from April 22 to May 1. Parliament dissolved, May 8.

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NAMES.	March.					April.	
	13	15	17	18	22	15	17
Ds. Clynton, Admirallus . . .	p		p	p	p		p
„ Howard de Effingham . . .							p
„ Burgavenny . . . . .							
„ Audeley . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		p
„ Straunge . . . . .							
„ Zouche . . . . .							
„ Barckley . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		p
„ Morley . . . . .	p	p	p	p			p
„ Dacres de Gillisland . . .							
„ Cobham . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		
„ Talbot . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		p
„ Stafford . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		p
„ Graye Wilton . . . . .							p
„ Scroupe . . . . .		p	p	p	p		p
„ Dudley . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		p
„ Hastings . . . . .		p	p	p	p		
„ Lumley . . . . .	p	p	p	p			p
„ Mountjoy . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		p
„ Ogle . . . . .						No entry.	
„ Darcy de Darcy . . . . .		p					
„ Mountegle . . . . .							
„ Sandes . . . . .							
„ Vauxe . . . . .							
„ Windesor . . . . .							
„ Burghe . . . . .							
„ Mordaunt . . . . .							
„ John . . . . .	p	p	p	p			
„ Evers . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		p
„ Wharton . . . . .							
„ Ryche . . . . .	p		p	p			p
„ Willoughbie . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		
„ Sheffelde . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		
„ Paget . . . . .							
„ Darcy de Chechie . . . . .		p	p	p	p		p
„ Willyams . . . . .	p						
„ Northe . . . . .		p		p	p		
„ Chandos . . . . .			p	p	p		p
„ Hastings de Loughborough .	p	p					p
„ Cary of Hunsdon . . . . .				p			p
„ John de Bletsoo . . . . .	p	p	p	p	p		p
Comes Hartford . . . . .							p

Parliament dissolved, May 8.  
No entry from April 22 to May 1.

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### IX

#### PROCLAMATION FOR RECEIVING THE COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS

[From Dyson's *Proclamations*, f. 5. See above, p. 93.]

#### *By the Queen*

Whereas the Queen's Majesty hath in the present last session of Parliament, with the assent and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons in the same assembled, made amongst others one statute to repeal sundry Acts of Parliament made in the time of the late Queen, Her Majesty's sister, and to revive and make good certain other necessary and godly laws used in the times of the reigns of King Henry the Eighth, Her Majesty's father, and King Edward the Sixth, Her Majesty's brother, of noble memories, amongst the which one godly Act there is revived entitled an Act against such persons as shall unreverently speak against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, and for receiving thereof under both kinds, made in a Parliament begun at Westminster the 4th day of November, in the first year of the said King Edward the Sixth, and continued to the 23rd day of December then next following. And because the time of Easter is so at hand, and that great numbers, not only of the nobility and gentlemen, but also of the common people of this realm be certainly persuaded in conscience in such sort as they cannot be

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induced in any wise to communicate or receive the said holy Sacrament but under both kinds, according to the first institution, and to the common use both of the Apostles and the Primitive Church. And for that also the foresaid statute now made in this last Parliament, being of great length, cannot be printed and published abroad, nor any other manner of divine service for the communion of the said holy Sacrament (than that which is now used in the Church) can presently be established by any law until further time therefor may be had ; for to avoid all contention and discord, and to quiet the consciences of such great numbers, it is thought necessary to Her Majesty, by the advice of sundry of her nobility and commons lately assembled in Parliament, to signify and declare, like as by this present proclamation Her Majesty doth signify and declare, to all manner Her Majesty's subjects that the foresaid statute made in the said first year of King Edward the Sixth is now wholly revived and in force to all manner of purposes and intents, and that the same is and ought to be followed, obeyed, and used. And therefore Her Majesty, by the said advice, straitly commandeth and chargeth all manner of persons, and specially all manner pastors and curates to whom the ministration of the said holy Sacrament doth belong, charitably and quietly to observe the form and manner of the said statute now revived concerning the ministration under both kinds. And yet, lest discussion or disquiet might arise if in any place the priests and ministers of some church shall refuse to deliver the said holy Sacrament in both kinds to their parishioners which shall humbly require the same, Her Majesty, by the advice aforesaid, requireth and com-



## *Communion in Both Kinds* 257

mandeth all manner her subjects that so shall reverently and humbly require the same, and cannot have it quietly granted by their priest or curate, yet not to molest the said priest at this time of Easter for the same, lest occasion thereby be given of breach of charity, but to resort to some other honest, discreet, and learned priest and minister, either in the same church or some other, and to receive of him the said holy Sacrament reverently under both kinds as is above said. And notwithstanding the same, to pay all manner other tithes and duties to their proper parson or curate, as otherwise they have done, leaving the consideration of the curate's contempt to such as in that behalf have cause to redress it.

And further, Her Majesty commandeth straitly all manner of mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, and other her officers, as they will answer for the contrary, to have an earnest regard that peace and concord be kept as well in churches as without, specially during this feast of Easter, and not to fail, but forthwith commit to prison all disordered persons that shall seek willingly to break, either by misordered deed or by railing or contemptuous speech, the common peace and bond of charity which ought among all good Christians to be at this present most abundant and of most force and value.

Given at our Palace of Westminster, the 22nd day of March, the first year of our reign.

God Save the Queen

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### X

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BOOK OF 1552 AND THAT OF 1559

[This list, endorsed "by Dr. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury," is not in Parker's handwriting, but it belongs to the reign of Elizabeth. See above, p. 129. From Lansdowne MS., 120, f. 79. Printed by Strype.]

#### *A Note of the Differences between King Edward his Second Book and Her Majesty's Book of Common Prayer*

First, King Edward his second book differeth from Her Majesty's book in the first rubrics set down in the beginning of the book. For King Edward's second book hath it thus: "The morning and evening prayer shall be used in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the minister shall turn him as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place and the etc." (*sic*). Again, King Edward's second book hath thus: "Again here is to be noted that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope. But being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only." Whereas the Queen's book hath it thus: "The morning and evening prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the

## *The Books of 1552 and 1559* 259

church, chapel, or chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary of the place. And the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past." "And here is to be noted that the minister at that time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book."

Secondly, in King Edward's second book in the Litany there are these words: "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities"; which are not in Her Majesty's book.

Thirdly, in the Litany, Her Majesty's book hath these words more than are in King Edward's second book, viz. "Strengthen in the true worshipping of Thee in righteousness and holiness of life," etc.

Fourthly, in the end of the Litany there is no prayer in King Edward's second book for the King nor for the state of the clergy. And the last collect set in Her Majesty's book next before the first Sunday in Advent, and beginning, "O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy," is not in King Edward's second book. Further, there are two collects appointed for the time of dearth and famine, whereas Her Majesty's book hath but one. And in King Edward's second book this note is given of the prayer of St. Chrysostom: "The litany shall ever end with this collect following," which note is not in Her Majesty's book.

Fifthly, King Edward's second book appointeth only

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these words to be used when the bread is delivered at the communion, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving." And when the cup is delivered, "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful."

[Then follows, under the head *Statutum Elizabethae Primo*, a portion of the Uniformity Act in Latin, beginning, "Et quod idem liber — maxime expedire videbitur."]

### XI

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE INJUNCTIONS OF 1559

[From a contemporary copy in the British Museum which has been reprinted in Gee and Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of the History of the English Church*, p. 419. See above, p. 136.]

2. Images, relics, etc., not to be extolled.

2. Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol the dignity of any images, relics, or miracles; but, declaring the abuse of the same, they shall teach that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author and Giver of the same, and of none other.

3. Monthly sermons to be preached which shall denounce superstition.

3. Item, that they the persons above rehearsed shall preach in their churches and every other cure they have, one sermon every month of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the

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word of God, and in the same exhort their hearers to the works of faith, as mercy and charity, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and that the works devised by man's fantasies besides Scripture (as wandering of pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, or such-like superstition) have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them, but contrariwise great threatenings and maledictions of God, for that they being things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same most diminish His honour and glory.

6. Also, that they shall provide within three months next after this visitation (at the charges of the parish), one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and within one twelve months next after the said visitation, the Paraphrases of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospel, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have the cure of, whereas their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same, and read the same, out of the time of common service. The charges of the Paraphrases shall be by the parson or proprietary and parishioners borne by equal portions; and they shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English, but shall rather exhort every person to read the same with great humility and reverence, as the very lively word of God, and the especial food of man's soul, which all Christian persons are bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved; whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lady the Queen, and

6. The Bible and Paraphrases to be set up, and Bible-reading be encouraged.

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their neighbour, ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and in Her Majesty's name straitly charging and commanding them, that in the reading thereof no man to reason or contend, but quietly to hear the reader.

14. The  
Injunctions  
to be read  
regularly.

14. Also that the said parsons, vicars, and clerks shall once every quarter of the year read these Injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately before all their parishioners at one time, or at two several times in one day, to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more moved to follow the same for their part.

22. Church  
ceremonies  
to be taught  
as obligatory.

22. Also that they shall instruct and teach in their cures that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the Church, commanded by public authority to be observed.

23. Shrines,  
etc., to be  
removed.

23. Also that they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass-windows, or elsewhere within their churches and houses, preserving, nevertheless, or repairing both the walls and glass-windows, and they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.

30. The  
clergy to  
be properly  
apparelled.

30. Item, Her Majesty being desirous to have the prelacy and clergy of this realm to be had as well in outward reverence as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministries, and thinking it necessary to have them known to the people in all places and assemblies, both in the church and without, and thereby

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to receive the honour and estimation due to the special messengers and ministers of Almighty God, wills and commands that all archbishops and bishops, and all other that be called or admitted to preaching or ministry of the sacraments, or that be admitted into any vocation ecclesiastical or into any society of learning in either of the universities or elsewhere, shall use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, not thereby meaning to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but, as St. Paul writeth, "*Omnia decenter et secundum ordinem fiant,*" 1 Cor. cap. 14.

32. Item, that no persons shall use charms, sorceries, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any such-like devilish device, nor shall resort at any time to the same for counsel or help.

32. Charms, etc., forbidden.

35. Item, that no persons keep in their houses any abused images, tables, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition.

35. Images, etc., not to be kept privately.

47. Item, that the churchwardens of every parish shall deliver unto our visitors the inventories of vestments, copes, and other ornaments, plate, books, and especially of grails, couchers, legends, processions, manuals, hymnals, portasses, and such-like appertaining to their church.

47. Inventories of church furniture to be delivered.

49. Item, because in divers collegiate and also some parish churches heretofore there have been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children to use singing in the church, by means whereof the laudable science of music has been had in estimation and preserved in knowledge: the Queen's Majesty neither meaning in

49. Choral foundations to be kept. The service to be daily sung. A hymn to be allowed.

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any wise the decay of anything that may conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the church, that thereby the common prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers, wills and commands that, first, no alterations be made of such assignments of living as heretofore has been appointed to the use of singing or music in the church, but that the same so remain ; and that there be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing ; and yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or such - like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.

52. Of  
reverence in  
worship and  
bowing at the  
Holy Name.

52. Item, although Almighty God is at all times to be honoured with all manner of reverence that may be devised ; yet of all other times in time of common prayer the same is most to be regarded, therefore it is to be necessarily received, that in time of the Litany and all other collects and common supplications to Almighty God, all manner of people shall devoutly and humbly kneel upon their knees, and give ear thereunto ; and that whensoever the name of Jesus shall be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise in the church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons young and old, with lowliness of courtesy and uncovering of the heads



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of menkind, as thereunto does necessarily belong and heretofore has been accustomed.

### *For Tables in the Church*

Whereas Her Majesty understands that in many and sundry parts of the realm the altars of the churches be removed and tables placed for ministration of the holy Sacrament, according to the form of the law therefor provided, and in some other places the altars be not yet removed, upon opinion conceived of some other order therein to be taken by Her Majesty's visitors, in the order whereof, saving for an uniformity, there seems no matter of great moment, so that the Sacrament be duly and reverently ministered, yet for observation of one uniformity through the whole realm, and for the better imitation of the law in that behalf, it is ordered that no altar be taken down, but by oversight of the curate of the church and the churchwardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner to be used.

No altar is to be taken down without proper supervision.

And that the holy table in every church be decently made and set in the place where the altar stood, and there commonly covered as thereto belongs, and as shall be appointed by the visitors, and so to stand, saving when the communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed, at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate

The holy table to stand where the altar stood, saving at the celebration.

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with the said minister. And after the communion done, from time to time the same holy table to be placed where it stood before.

Regulations  
for the  
sacramental  
bread.

Item, where also it was in the time of King Edward the Sixth used to have the sacramental bread of common-fine bread, it is ordered, for the more reverence to be given to these holy mysteries, being the sacraments of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that the same sacramental bread be made and formed plain without any figure thereupon, of the same fineness and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and wafer heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private Mass.

The ratifica-  
tion of the  
Injunctions.

All which and singular Injunctions the Queen's Majesty ministers unto her clergy and to all her loving subjects, straitly charging and commanding them to observe and keep the same upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of fruits and benefices, suspension, excommunication, and such other coercion as to ordinaries, or other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whom Her Majesty has appointed or shall appoint for the due execution of the same, shall be seen convenient, charging and commanding them to see these Injunctions observed and kept of all persons being under their jurisdiction, as they will answer to Her Majesty for the contrary. And Her Highness' pleasure is that every justice of peace being required, shall assist the ordinaries and every of them, for the due execution of the said Injunctions.

## *Extracts Visitation Articles 267*

### XII

#### EXTRACTS FROM VISITATION ARTICLES OF 1559

[From a copy in the British Museum, 5155 a. 14 (1). Printed in Gee's *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 65. See above, p. 138.]

2. Item, whether in their churches and chapels all images, shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned and false miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition be removed, abolished, and destroyed.

9. Item, whether they use to declare to their parishioners anything to the extolling or setting forth of vain and superstitious religion, pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, or decking of the same images.

15. Item, whether they do counsel or move their parishioners rather to pray in a tongue not known than in English, or put their trust in any certain number of prayers, as in saying over a number of beads, or other like.

22. Item, whether they have monished their parishioners openly that they should not sell, give, nor otherwise alienate any of their church goods.

38. Item, whether the churches, pulpits, and other necessities appertaining to the same be sufficiently repaired, and if they be not, in whose default the same is.

45. Item, whether you know any that keep in their houses undefaced any images, tables, pictures, paintings,

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or other monuments of feigned or false miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, and do adore them, and specially such as have been set up in churches, chapels, or oratories.

55. Item, whether the Litany in English, with the Epistle and Gospel, which was by the Queen's Highness' proclamation willed to be read to the people, were put in use in your churches, and if not who were the letters thereof.

56. Item, whether the curates and ministers do leisurely, plainly, and distinctly read the public prayers, chapters, and homilies as they ought to do.

### XIII

#### LIST OF PRINTED ELIZABETHAN CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS

[The following Churchwardens' Accounts have been utilised in forming the conclusions referred to in this book. Of course many such accounts are still unprinted. The list of those in print, compiled by Miss Elsbeth Philipps, *English Historical Review*, April 1900, has been of great service to me. See above, p. 145.]

1. J. M. S. Brooke and A. W. C. Hallen, St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Mary Woolchurch.
2. J. H. Butcher, Ashburton.
3. J. C. Cox and W. H. St. John Hope, All Saints', Derby.
4. J. P. Earwaker, St. Mary-on-Hill, Chester.

## *Churchwardens' Accounts 269*

5. F. N. A. and A. G. Garry, St. Mary's, Reading.
6. J. L. Glasscock, St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford.
7. G. B. Hall, St. Alphege's, London.
8. W. Holland, Cratfield.
9. C. Kerry, St. Laurence's, Reading.
10. F. G. Lee, Thame.
11. A. G. Legge, N. Elmham.
12. A. J. Waterlow, St. Michael's, Cornhill.
13. R. N. Worth, Tavistock.
14. T. Wright, Ludlow.
15. J. Nichols, SS. Margaret, Martin, and Mary, Leicester.
16. Antiquary, vol. 17, Stanford.
17. Archæologia, 1, St. Helen's, Abingdon.
18. Archæologia, 35, Minchinhampton.
19. Archæologia, 36, Wing.
20. Archæologia, 41, Leverton.
21. British Archæological Association, 24, St. Peter's, Cheapside.
22. British Archæological Association, 25, St. Matthew's, City.
23. British Archæological Association, 44, St. Thomas', Portsmouth.
24. Devon Association for the Advancement of Science, 14, St. Petrock's, Exeter.
25. Hampshire Record Society, 1895, Wootton.
26. Historical MSS. Commission, 5, Mendlesham.
27. Leicester Archæological and Architectural Association, 3, Melton Mowbray.
28. Midland Antiquary, 1, Badsey.
29. Midland Antiquary, 1, S. Littleton.
30. Norfolk Archæological Society, 2, Loddon.

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31. Blomefield's History of Norfolk, 3, Brockdish.
32. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 2nd Series, 2, Kirton in Lindsay.
33. Somerset Record Society, 4, Tintenhuil.
34. Somerset Record Society, 4, Yatton.
35. Somerset Record Society, 4, Croscombe.
36. Surrey Archæological Collection, 2, Seal.
37. Surrey Archæological Collection, 8, Horley.
38. Worcester Historical Society, 1896, St. Michael's, Worcester.
39. Archæologia Cantiana, 5, Hawkhurst.
40. Archæologia Cantiana, 9, Smarden.
41. Archæologia Cantiana, 16 and 17, St. Dunstan's, Canterbury.

### XIV

#### EXTRACT FROM THE "INTERPRETATIONS AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS"

[From Parker MSS. and Inner Temple MSS. Cf. Strype,  
*Ann.* i. 214. See above, p. 156.]

#### *Concerning the Book of Service*

First, that there be used only but one apparel, as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the surplice in all other ministrations. And that there be no other manner and form of ministering the sacraments, but as the service-book doth precisely prescribe, with the declaration of the Injunctions, as for example the communion bread.

## *Extracts from Advertisements 271*

Item, That the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, before the chancel door, where either the choir seemeth to be too little or at great feasts of receivings. And at the end of the communion to be set up again according to the Injunctions.

### XV

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE ADVERTISEMENTS OF 1566

[From a contemporary copy in British Museum, reprinted in Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative, etc.*, p. 470. See above, p. 167.]

First, that the Common Prayer be said or sung decently and distinctly in such place as the ordinary shall think meet for the largeness and straitness of the church and choir, so that the people may be most edified.

1. The place of Common Prayer.

Item, in the ministration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches, the principal minister shall use a cope with gospeller and epistoler agreeably, and at all other prayers to be said at that communion table, to use no copes, but surplices.

4. Vestments in cathedrals, etc., at communion.

Item, that the dean and prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk hood in the choir, and when they preach in the cathedral or collegiate church to wear their hood.

5. Ordinary vestments of the chapter.

Item, that any minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charges of the parish, and that the parish provide a decent table standing on a frame for the communion table.

6. Vestments of parochial clergy.

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7. Arrange-  
ment of the  
communion  
table.

Item, that they shall decently cover with carpet, silk, or other decent covering, and with a fair linen cloth (at the time of the ministration), the communion table, and to set the Ten Commandments upon the east wall over the said table.

### *Articles for Outward Apparel of Persons Ecclesiastical*

1. Arch-  
bishops and  
bishops.

First, that all archbishops and bishops do use and continue their accustomed apparel.

2. Of church  
dignitaries.

Item, that all deans of cathedral churches, masters of colleges, all archdeacons, and other dignities in cathedral churches, doctors, bachelors of divinity and law, having any ecclesiastical living, shall wear in their common apparel abroad a side gown with sleeves straight at the hand, without any cuts in the same, and that also without any falling cape; and to wear tippets of sarcenet, as is lawful for them by the Act of Parliament 24 Henry Eighth.

3. Of doctors  
of medicine,  
etc.

Item, that all doctors of physic or of any other faculty, having any living ecclesiastical or any other that may dispend by the church one hundred marks, so to be esteemed by the fruits or tenths of their promotions, and all prebendaries whose promotions be valued at twenty pound or upward, wear the like apparel.

4. Of clerical  
caps.

Item, that they and all ecclesiastical persons or other having any ecclesiastical living do wear the cap appointed by the Injunctions. And they to wear no hats but in their journeying.

5. Of clerical  
clothes  
abroad.

Item, that they in their journeying do wear their cloaks, with sleeves put on, and like in fashion to their gowns, without guards, welts, or cuts.



## *Order concerning Rood-Lofts* 273

Item, that in their private houses and studies they use their own liberty of comely apparel.

6. Of clerical clothes at home.

Item, that all inferior ecclesiastical persons shall wear long gowns of the fashion aforesaid, and caps as afore is prescribed.

7. Of the inferior clergy.

Item, that all poor parsons, vicars, and curates do endeavour themselves to conform their apparel in like sort so soon and as conveniently as their ability will serve to the same. Provided that their ability be judged by the bishop of the diocese. And if their ability will not suffer to buy their long gowns of the form afore prescribed, that then they shall wear their short gowns agreeable to the form before expressed.

8. Of the poor clergy.

Item, that such persons as have been or be ecclesiastical, and serve not the ministry, or have not accepted, or shall refuse to accept, the oath of obedience to the Queen's Majesty, do from henceforth abroad wear none of the said apparel of the form and fashion aforesaid, but to go as mere laymen till they be reconciled to obedience; and who shall obstinately refuse to do the same, that they be presented by the ordinary to the commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, and by them to be reformed accordingly.

9. Of the apparel of clergy without cure.

### XVI

#### ORDER CONCERNING ROOD-LOFTS, ETC.

[From British Museum, 5155 aa. 7. See above, p. 184.]

Orders taken the 10th day of October, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lady Elizabeth, Queen

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of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., by virtue of Her Majesty's letters addressed to Her Highness' commissioners for causes ecclesiastical as followeth :

Imprimis, for the avoiding of much strife and contention that have heretofore arisen among the Queen's subjects in divers parts of the realm, for the using or transposing of the rood-lofts, fonts, and steps within the choirs and chancels in every parish church. It is thus decreed and ordained that the rood-lofts as yet being at this day aforesaid untransposed shall be so altered that the upper part of the same, with the soller, be quite taken down unto the upper parts of the vaults and beam running in length over the said vaults by putting some convenient crest upon the said beam towards the church, with leaving the situation of the seats as well in the choir as in the church as heretofore hath been used.

Provided yet that where any parish, of their own costs and charges or [word obliterated] consent, will pull down the whole frame, and re-edifying again the same in joiners' work, as in divers churches within the city of London doth appear, that they may do as they think agreeable, so it be to the height of the upper beam aforesaid.

Provided also that where in any parish church the said rood-lofts be already transposed, so that there remain a comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church, that no alteration be otherwise attempted in them, but be suffered in quiet. And where no partition is standing, there to be one appointed.

Also, that the steps which be as yet at this day remaining in any cathedral, collegiate, or parish church be not stirred nor altered, but be suffered to continue, with the

## *Order concerning Rood-Lofts* 275

tombs of any noble or worshipful personage, where it so chanceth to be, as well in chancel, church, or chapel. And if in any chancel the steps be transposed, that they be not erected again, but that the place be decently paved where the communion table shall stand out of the times of receiving the communion, having thereon a fair linen cloth, with some covering of silk, buckram, or other such-like, for the clean keeping of the said cloth, on the communion board, at the cost of the parish.

And further—that there be fixed upon the wall, over the said communion board, the tables of God's precepts imprinted for the said purpose. Provided yet that in cathedral churches the tables of the said precepts be more largely and costly painted out, to the better show of the same.

Item, that all chancels be clean kept and repaired within as without in the windows and elsewhere as appertaineth.

Item, that the font be not removed from the accustomed place, and that in parish churches the curates take not upon them to confer baptism in basins, but in the font customably used.

Item, that there be no destruction or alienation of the bells, steeple, or porch belonging to any parish church by the private authority of any person or persons without sufficient matter showed to the archbishop of the province, and of his and their doings, and by them allowed, except it be for cause of repairing the same.

Item, that neither the curates nor the parents of the children alter the common used manner for godfathers and godmothers to answer for the children, nor shall condemn the accustomed usage in the same.

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Item, that it shall not be lawful to any ordinary to assign or enjoin the parishes to buy any books of sermons or expositions in any other sort than is already or shall be hereafter appointed by public authority.

Item, that there be none other days observed for holy days or fasting days as of duty and commandment, but only such holy days as be expressed for holy days in the calendar late set forth by the Queen's authority, and none other fasting days to be so commanded but as the late proclamations by the Queen's Majesty provided in the same do appoint.

Item, that the parson, vicar, or curate, with the churchwardens, shall yearly make and exhibit unto the registers of the ordinary the names and surnames of all persons married, christened, and buried within their said parishes, by bill indented, with the subscription of their hands noting the day and year of the said christenings, marriages, and burials out of their original register, kept in custody as is appointed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions.

Item, that no parson, vicar, or curate of any exempt churches, otherwise called lawless churches, do attempt to conjoin by solemnisation of matrimony any persons not being of his parish without sufficient testimony of the banns asking in the churches where they dwell, or otherwise be authorised lawfully to marry.

Imprinted at London, in Paul's Church Yard, by  
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*Cum privilegio regiae majestatis.*

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